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ILLUSTRATIVE OF

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE,

HIS LIFE AND TIMES.



PRINTED FOR THE MAITLAND CLUB.

M.DCCC.XLI.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

If we were required to point out a period in the history of Scotland, which, for the interest of its details, and the importance of its results upon the subsequent fate of the nation, might be considered as having peculiar claims upon our notice, we should probably select that which is bounded, on the one side, by the death of King Alexander the Third, and, on the other, by the battle of Bannockburn. During the anterior period, the kingdom, though to all appearance highly cultivated, and in many respects equal to her sister kingdom of England, had not yet acquired that compactness of organization which produces individuality of design as well as unity of exertion. The reign of David, indeed, presents a picture which it might be important to examine more minutely than has hitherto been done; but the circumstances which invest it with the peculiar interest which it possesses are rather of an ecclesiastical than a political character, and, as such, do not come under our present consideration.

Going further down the stream of history, and looking at the position of Scotland after Robert Bruce had secured her liberties by the decisive battle of Bannockburn, we find still fewer resting places. The pages of her annals are over-crowded with the details of endless negotiations, meant only to be kept so long as convenient; or with notices of petty inroads or domestic feuds. And, at a subsequent period, the investigations of her latest historian have shown that, with a very few exceptions, her nobility had ceased to possess that love for national independence for which their ancestors were so eminently distinguished.

Reverting, then, to the period which we have first mentioned, we find in it much to arrest the attention. We find a kingdom suddenly deprived of her sovereign, and, by a succession of accidents which human foresight could not have anticipated, and against which human prudence could not have guarded, resolving to adopt the dangerous expedient of electing a monarch to fill the vacant throne. We find the arbitrate power vested in the person of a neighbouring Prince, a Prince, too, no less remarkable for his personal ambition than his political wisdom. It can scarce excite our surprise to find that, under such circumstances, the attempt was made to overthrow the national independence of Scotland, and to make that kingdom an appendage to the crown of England.

Extraordinary circumstances give birth to extraordinary characters. The same exciting causes which produced a Tell in Switzerland, a Cromwell in England, and a Buonaparte in

France, raised up a Wallace and a Bruce in Scotland. And, as the condition of society, and the general state of the times, was more peculiarly suited, when they lived, for the development of individual character, than it was when those other great names which we have mentioned appeared on the theatre of the world ; so, the history of those two defenders of the liberties of their country possesses charms, arising from these circumstances, in which the others are necessarily deficient.

Without pretending for a moment to draw a contrast between the characters of Wallace and of Bruce, we may be permitted to remark that, when placed in juxtaposition, the former is the more interesting personage. His comparatively obscure origin ; the difficulties which he had to overcome at home, in a state saturated with the principles of the feudal law ; the means by which he acquired for himself the proud title of the Guardian of the Liberties of Scotland ; his unflinching devotion to the cause in which he found himself embarked ; his betrayal, trial, and death ; invest his name with peculiar interest. The deficiency of authentic information respecting him yet further stimulates inquiry, and the manner in which authentic history has confessedly become mingled with traditional lore, still further conspires to make the truth worth investigating.

The present collection of documents is intended to gratify, as far as possible, the interest naturally excited by such considerations. It aims at bringing into one conspectus the more important of the notices respecting Wallace which hitherto have

been scattered through large and expensive volumes, to present them in as satisfactory a state as the means within the reach of the editor would permit, and to add to them such other documents as have been brought to light by recent investigations in the Record Offices of London.

The volume, therefore, naturally divides itself into two distinct classes of materials, those, namely, which have always been referred to as containing information, more or less authentic; and those which, till recently, have been unknown to the historians and antiquarians of Scotland. Passing over the former, with the remark, that the source whence each is derived is pointed out in the notes appended respectively to each, the opportunity may be permitted to the editor to offer a few observations upon one document which finds no place in this volume, although professedly written to record the exploits of Wallace, namely, the poem written by Blind Harry.

The criticism which Lord Hailes passed upon that poem, now more than half a century ago, appears to have had the effect desired by his Lordship; that, namely, of condemning it as an historical document. Since that time, whoever had the hardihood to quote Blind Harry has been regarded as deficient in judgment and critical information with respect to the sources of Scottish history; as one, in short, not acquainted with the results of modern investigation. This conclusion, it appears to the editor, has been arrived at with precipitancy, and without due examination. Had the question been proposed by his

Lordship as one worthy of a fuller investigation than it had received, instead of sentence of condemnation being pronounced so sweepingly, we should, probably, ere this time, have had the matter discussed quietly and dispassionately, and the public would have gained, instead of having lost, by the keenness of his Lordship's mental vision. Certain errors in names and in chronology were detected; every one must admit that they are errors, and gross errors too;—but is it a fair inference, because some errors are found in a poem, containing several thousands of lines, written by a blind and ignorant versifier, and in a poem, too, handed down for a long period by recitation, that the whole is utterly worthless? The present collection of documents places this subject in a new and interesting position; for it shows us that those very particulars, which, from their romantic character, were supposed to be fictitious, and which contributed to throw discredit upon the whole production, are, in reality, genuine and authentic history. And this may perhaps induce some one, who has leisure for the task, to devote a few hours of that leisure to the composition of “An Inquiry into the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Poem called ‘The Wallace.’”

But to return from this digression, (which, however, is scarcely to be called a digression, since it is not wholly disconnected with the general object we have in view,) and to take up the subject of the contents of this volume at the point at which we left it, we may add, that, after due deliberation, it was also resolved to exclude the narrative respecting Wallace, which pro-

fesses to be written by his Chaplain.* Circumstances, both external and internal, seem to show that it is of more than dubious authenticity, and, granting that it is based upon truth, it certainly is not written by the personage under whose name it now passes current.

We now proceed to make a few remarks upon those documents which are here printed for the first time; and, without incurring the charge of vanity, it may perhaps be permitted the editor to congratulate himself in having brought before the literary public of Scotland, information equally new and interesting respecting such a personage as Sir William Wallace. The subject is one which naturally has engaged the attention of every Scotchman for centuries, and yet, after centuries of investigation, we find details of authentic history regarding him which have been hitherto unknown.

It forms no part of the duty of an editor to weave these into one continued narrative, or to show how far the information so brought together agrees with, or adds to, or contradicts, our preconceived impressions. The writer of this preface hopes to be forgiven, however, if he ventures to detain the reader while he lays before him a few notices of the more important of the documents contained in this volume.

One piece of information which we gain respecting Wallace

* Reference is here made to the relations of A. Blair.

serves to explain what has always appeared a difficulty in the history of that individual. It will be remembered that, immediately after the defeat which he sustained at Falkirk, in 1298, he disappears from history, and no traces are found of him until a very short period before the date of his execution in 1305. The question naturally arises, Where was he during the interval? Are we to suppose that he was, during those seven years, the quiet, peaceable, and obedient vassal of Edward? Did he, the late "Dux exercitus regni Scotiæ," resign the trust reposed in him without a further effort to free his country; or, during that period, was he actively employed in the same cause, although we have not hitherto been able to trace his operations?

We are now enabled to answer this question. Wallace, during that period, did *not* neglect his trust; he did *not* forsake the cause in which he had embarked; he *did* exert him to the utmost in defence of the fallen and betrayed liberties of his country; and the project which he formed, and would have executed, but for the intervention of unexpected accidents, was no less remarkable for its boldness, than the comprehensive views which it exhibited.

The battle of Falkirk convinced Wallace of the impossibility of sustaining any longer the contest against such a powerful and well disciplined army as Edward brought into the field; and experience now taught him that he could not alone oppose a body

of men, disunited among themselves, traitors to their country,* and induced, by the private jealousies and prejudices of their leaders,† to thwart his exertions, and prevent his further interference. Had he been influenced by pride, ambition, or any of those private feelings which form too often the spring of action of most minds, save those of the highest order, he would in all probability have retired from the contest with disgust at the ingratitude and treachery of his countrymen, or, like too many of the Scottish nobility, have earned the favour of Edward by timely submission. But, though there was much to tempt him to either course, and had he fallen under the temptation, much might have been said to palliate his conduct, he was neither a waverer nor a traitor to the cause which he had espoused. Finding no farther chance of success at home, he sought it abroad; and, leaving his fallen country and her degraded nobility for a time, he hastened to plead the cause of Scotland at the throne of France.

We cannot wonder that he should adopt this course, for it appeared to hold out every prospect of success. Without re-

* See p. 62. Trivet, p. 334, says, "Nolebant Majores Scotiæ post prælium de Faukirke Willelmo Walays tanquam duci et capitaneo obedire." The printed edition reads "Volebant," but the correction, as given above, is sanctioned by MSS. collated by the Editor.

† The Comyns are said by Fordun to have been the chief instigators of this act of treachery and treason, and, from what we know of the conduct of that family, there seems sufficient reason to admit the truth of the accusation. Some documents exhibiting their dealings with Edward are printed in the Appendix to this Preface, (No. I.)

verting to the league of Achaius with Charlemagne, (had he been acquainted with it,) Wallace must have been aware that their mutual interests had long united France and Scotland in one common bond of enmity against England. John Baliol and Philip the Fair, the respective sovereigns of these kingdoms, had entered into a league, offensive and defensive, against Edward; and, at a still later period, various embassies had passed to and fro, having the same general object in view. The position of the affairs of Guienne and Flanders with respect to England, made the prospect yet more flattering, and although Wallace must have been aware that his late defeat must have altered his position in the estimation of such a politic statesman as Philip, and abridged the probability of his interference, he yet resolved to make the attempt, and, accompanied by five companions, he sailed for France.*

But the aspect of affairs had there changed, and, in Philip's estimation, it had ceased to be expedient to favour the asserters of the Scottish liberties. Taking advantage of Edward's absence from the scene of action, he had recently marched into the Low Countries, he had made himself master of Lisle, St Omer, Courtrai, and Ypres; he had defeated the Flemings in the battle of Furnes, and seemed in a situation to take full vengeance on the Earl of Flanders, his rebellious vassal. But Edward, at the head of a large army, soon stopped the career of

* It is interesting to notice how the authentic details in this volume here bear out, to a great degree, the wild romance of Blind Harry.

his victories ; and Philip, finding all the weak resources of his kingdom already exhausted, began to dread a reverse of fortune, and to apprehend an invasion of France itself. The King of England, on the other hand, disappointed of assistance from Adolph King of the Romans, whom he had purchased at a high price, and finding many urgent calls for his presence in England, was desirous of ending, on any honourable terms, a war which served only to divert his force from the execution of more important objects. This disposition in both monarchs soon produced a cessation of hostilities, and induced them to submit their differences to the arbitration of Pope Boniface.

Such was the state of affairs when Wallace landed in France. He lost no time in proceeding to Amiens, where Philip then resided, and he urged him to assist his ancient allies against their common enemy. But interest pointed out a different line of conduct, and, as is usual in such transactions, interest preponderated over other considerations. It had been suggested by the Pope, in his character of peacemaker, that the treaty between France and England should be cemented by a double marriage ; that, namely, of Edward himself, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister, and that of the Prince of Wales with Isabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip was likewise willing to restore Guienne to the English, which he had indeed no good pretence to detain ; but he insisted that the Scots and their king, John Baliol, should, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and should be restored to their liberty.

To this proposition Edward would by no means consent, and the point, after some discussion, was compromised by each making mutual concessions to the other. Edward agreed to abandon his ally the Earl of Flanders, upon condition that Philip should be equally complaisant in respect to the King of Scotland. The prospect of conquering these two countries, whose situation made them so commodious an acquisition to the respective kingdoms, prevailed over all other considerations, and the treaty was concluded. And Philip, that he might appear to give a decided proof of his sincerity, threw Wallace into prison, and despatched a letter to Edward, informing him of what he had done, and requesting to know if he would be pleased to accept the custody of the late Governor of Scotland. To this, as might have been anticipated, Edward replied in the affirmative, and the fate of Wallace now appeared to be sealed.

Fortunately for him, however, the promises made by sovereigns are seldom perfectly sincere. Private feelings might perhaps mingle with public motives, and Philip's heart would naturally revolt against the cruelty and the treachery of consigning into the hands of an implacable enemy the man who had trusted himself to his hospitality and sought his protection. Be this as it may, we know that Philip not only did not deliver Wallace up to Edward, but actually released him from prison, and furnished him with credentials to his agents resident at the court of Rome.

This important piece of information rests upon a document

now first brought to light, and printed* in the present volume. The original was discovered by the editor, when employed as a Sub-Commissioner of Public Records, in arranging the unsorted mass of Miscellaneous Documents preserved in the Record Office in the Tower of London. Though short, it is exceedingly comprehensive and explicit. It is addressed by Philip, as we have already mentioned, to his agents at the court of Rome, and requests them to beg the Pope to interest himself in the accomplishment of these matters, which would be brought before the notice of his Holiness by his beloved "Sir William le Walois of Scotland, knight." The handwriting is undoubtedly French, and it bears every mark of being an authentic document. We are at a loss, however, to account for it being found in its present place of custody. Was Wallace prevented from conveying it to its intended destination? If carried by him to Rome, and presented to the French agents there, how came it afterwards into Edward's custody? Were the French agents, in their turn, faithless to their master? The whole is mystery. We are left to speculate upon these questions, and to lament that we have no materials for their solution.

It may be well that we take a glance at the position of affairs at Rome during the period when this Letter was written. The See was then filled by Pope Boniface the Eighth, under whom the pretensions of Gregory the Seventh were carried out into their fullest development, both in theory and practice. It was

* No. XVII. p. 163.

his doctrine that the temporal power was inferior to the spiritual ; he defined it as an article of faith necessary to salvation, that all human beings be subject to the Pope ; and he attempted to make this doctrine bear upon the Kings both of France and England. It was no less the interest of Wallace than of Philip that such a mighty power as that wielded by the successor of St Peter should be brought into exercise against the King of England ; and hence originated the Letter of recommendation.

We have no means of ascertaining whether this Letter was delivered, but there are circumstances which seem to indicate that it reached its destination. We know for certain, that, at this time, Boniface issued a Bull, in which he laid claim to the sovereignty of Scotland ; he went so far as to affirm that Edward had no pretensions to its crown, and that its people owed him no feudal subjection. In refuting the claims advanced by that monarch, and in discussing the details into which he entered in support of his own, the Pope showed an intimate acquaintance with the early history and present circumstances of that kingdom. Edward had no difficulty in guessing whence this information was derived, and, in his answer to the Bull, he informs the Pope that he had been deceived by certain "enemies of peace and sons of rebellion," then resident at his court,* whose false suggestions he requested might be for the future disregarded. The decided manner in which Edward replied to the letter of his Holiness, and the yet more resolute tone adopted

* Foed. ii. 883.

by the Barons assembled at Lincoln, convinced Boniface that his assumptions were treated with contempt, and that he would act more prudently by withdrawing from the conflict. He acted accordingly; and the affairs of Scotland, if they continued to attract his attention, were regarded only as one of the means by which he hoped to conciliate the King of England.

We have stated that there is no direct proof that Wallace was connected with the events which we have mentioned; but it seems no unwarrantable stretch of imagination to suppose that they were conducted under his guidance. We know that he left the court of France, armed with credentials which would introduce him to the Pope; we find the Pope at that very time adopting a new line of policy, in the working out of which he had the co-operation of certain natives of Scotland. Is it too much to hazard the conjecture, that one of these "enemies of peace" was Sir William Wallace?

Thwarted in his last project, and now without a friend, Wallace appears to have resolved upon returning to die in his own country. He had exerted himself to the uttermost in attempting to procure assistance from the only two sources whence it might reasonably have been expected; and in both he was disappointed. Shortly after the failure of his negotiations with Boniface, we find him again in Scotland, attempting to stem the tide of Edward's conquests. But this was a vain attempt; for the English monarch, now freed from the pressure of foreign

wars and negotiations, gave the whole resources of his powerful kingdom, and the whole energies of his enterprising mind, to the subjugation of Scotland. Those who had formerly been the boldest and most devoted asserters of their country's liberties, yielded, one by one, terrified by the threats, or seduced by the promises held out to them by the conqueror; but from all terms of capitulation Wallace was studiously excluded. "As for William Wallace, it is agreed that he shall surrender himself up at the will and mercy of our Sovereign Lord the King, if it shall seem good to him,"* in other words, an unconditional surrender was demanded. We have a notice of a skirmish between Wallace and Simon Fraser, on the one side, and William le Latymer, John de Segrave, and Robert de Clifford, on the other, which took place in March 1304; and in this and the ensuing month there are traces of many attempts made by the English to overcome them by arms, or to entrap them by treachery.† After escaping from the hands of his enemies for some time, he at last fell a victim to the confidence which he reposed in a friend and countryman, and was betrayed by Sir

* Ryley, Plac. Parl. 370, A.D. 1303.

† Pp. 179, 180; see also 166, 169. In the account of the capture and execution of Wallace, preserved in the Arundel MS. 220, and printed in the "Illustrations of Scottish History," one of the Maitland publications, it is stated that he was captured in the house of one Rawe Raa, (Ralph Raa, or Ray,) in Glasgow. The same surname, with the same orthography, seems to have been preserved for a considerable period in that city, for, in 1424, Walter Raa was a Notary there, and attested an agreement between Duncan Earl of Lennox and William Bishop of Glasgow. This document is printed, pp. 240, 241, of "Hamilton of Wishaw's Description of Lanark," 4to, Glasg. 1831, Maitland Club.

John Menteth. A document, recently discovered in the Chapter House at Westminster,* throws some light on this nefarious proceeding, and by the high amount of the rewards given to the traitors, shows Edward's estimate of the prize which they had secured for him. Forty marks, equal to thirty pounds, were given to one person who had watched Wallace, probably the individual through whose aid he had been captured; sixty marks (forty pounds) were given to others who had been employed in the same mission; a like sum was divided among those who had been present at his capture; and land to the value of one hundred pounds was assigned to Sir John Menteth. In estimating these sums with reference to the value of produce in our own day, we shall probably not overstate the amount thus distributed, if we consider it equivalent to L.1100 of ready money. This is exclusive of Sir John Menteth's share of the spoil, the amount of which it is not easy to reckon, since it was expended in land, at that time of comparatively little value in the market. So anxious was Edward to wreak his vengeance upon the head of Wallace! †

* See No. XX.

† Five days before the trial, Wallace's case had occupied Edward's special attention. Previously to the 18th August, (the trial, it will be recollected, was on the 23d,) he had issued his commission to four individuals for gaol-delivery in London and elsewhere; he now reduced the *quorum* to three, for the more rapid discharge of business. Upon reflection, this measure appears to have been considered by his Majesty as not sufficiently energetic; for, on the same day, a special commission for the trial of Wallace was issued to five individuals, of whom three should be a *quorum*. The writ contains the somewhat suspicious direction that the trial should be conducted by the judges "juxta ordinationem vobis per nos inde factam." Had this any reference to special instructions given

No sooner had he obtained possession of his captive, than he appears to have made preparation for his execution. Although the general facts connected with this subject have been narrated by our historians, yet recent investigation has brought to light many new and interesting particulars, which are printed, for the first time, in the present volume,* and will be read with the deepest interest. It may be worth one's while to examine these documents a little more narrowly, since they throw light upon that most interesting period, the close of Wallace's eventful history.

The source whence the narrative, of which the other documents may be considered as illustrative confirmations, has been derived, has already been pointed out with sufficient minuteness,† and the general accuracy and authenticity of this valuable extract can scarcely be too highly estimated.‡ We have here the testimony of an eye-witness probably, certainly of a contemporary writer, and of one whose official position in the city of London made him well acquainted with the whole of the details which he has preserved. Accordingly, we find that whatever information can be added to it from documents of undisputed authenticity fully supports its general correctness, and substantiates its details.‡

by the King to the commissioners? or are they mere words of course? I apprehend that the latter is the case, and that they are to be interpreted by the corresponding phrase which occurs in the Privy Seal, "selonc la ley et l'usage de notre realme."

* These remarks apply to the Articles numbered xxiv. xxv. xxvi. xxvii. and xxviii.

† In the note to p. 189.

‡ Compare No. xxvi. with p. 190.

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We have no means of ascertaining the exact date of Wallace's capture, or of the mode in which he was treated at the time, or how he was conveyed from Scotland to London. He arrived in that city, attended, as might have been expected, by a great multitude of spectators, upon Sunday, August the twenty-second,* 1305, and was lodged in the house of William de Lyre,† a citizen. The next day saw him conducted to Westminster Hall, where the trial was to be conducted. In cruel mockery of his own misfortunes, and because popular report had asserted that he had once affirmed that the time would come when he should there wear a crown, a chaplet of laurel leaves was placed upon his head. He was then indicted by Peter Malore, the King's Chief Justice, and was charged with being a traitor to the King of England, an accusation to which he pleaded "not guilty," inasmuch as being no subject of the King of England, he could not be guilty of treason;—a plea which we presume would be valid in law, and upon this indictment, at least, no judgment should have been pronounced.

Let us not suppose, however, that it was ever intended that

* Lord Hailes, A.D. 1305, affirms that Wallace was executed 23d August; but the chronological details of the Annalist, from whom the particulars here given are derived, are incontrovertible.

† It has been remarked in the note to p. 189, that Stowe, in his History of London, quotes a document similar to, or identical with, the present. In his copy, the name of this citizen is given "Delect." Lord Hailes (A.D. 1305) here holds up to our ridicule "honest John Stowe, to whom all objects appeared of equal magnitude;" but surely there are few Scotchmen, excepting his Lordship, to whom those minute particulars concerning Wallace are uninteresting.

Wallace should have the benefit of a fair trial or an impartial hearing. He was placed there only for condemnation. The mode in which the whole proceedings were conducted justifies us in arriving at this conclusion.

The sentence which was immediately pronounced is curious, both as containing an outline of Wallace's exploits, and of the principles upon which he was condemned. It recites that John Baliol, (whom it does not call King of Scotland,) having forfeited the kingdom of Scotland, Edward conquered it, and publicly received the homage and fealty of its "prelates, earls, barons, and others,"—that he proclaimed his peace through the realm,—that he systematised a government for it "according to the laws and customs of that land,"—that the foresaid William Wallace, forgetting his fealty and allegiance, had raised an immense body of followers, had attacked the English officers, had slain William de Heselregg, Sheriff of Lanark, whose dead body he afterwards cut into pieces,*—that, gaining strength and influence, he stormed the English garrisons, caused his writs to run through all Scotland, as if he were Superior Lord of that realm,—that he summoned parliaments,—that he attempted to league himself with the King of France,—that he ravaged Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland,—that he opposed the King in a pitched battle, and that, when defeated, he refused to avail himself of the terms of peace then held out to his accept-

* This seems to have been a favourite exploit with Wallace, or at least a favourite accusation. It reminds one of what is said to have happened to Cressingham.

ance. He was therefore outlawed. "And since it is, and is believed to be unjust," continues the sentence, "and inconsistent with the laws of England, that one so outlawed, and put without the laws, nor afterwards restored to the king's peace, should be admitted either to defend himself or to plead,"—sentence of death was accordingly pronounced upon him.

Hence we learn that Edward's arguments ran somehow thus. He had overrun Scotland by force of arms, he had prevailed upon several of the nobility, spiritual and temporal, to acknowledge his superiority, and had established a system of government,* calculated to maintain his own ambitious projects. Wallace had attained man's estate prior to the advancement of Edward's claims; he had never done fealty to that monarch; he did not consider himself bound to do so, either by the submission of a certain number of his countrymen, or by the establishment of the English yoke by force of arms. Terms implying an unconditional surrender are offered, but he rejected them; and he was denounced as an outlaw, and executed as a traitor, without being permitted to speak so much as one sentence in his own defence.

Although Wallace was the maker, rather than the inheritor, of a noble name, yet the family from which he was descended was, to say the least, respectable. It is neither the duty nor the

* Several of the appointments of Edward's ministers, together with the salaries which they received, are printed in Appendix A, No. VI.

intention of the editor to investigate this part of the subject at any great length, but he cannot refrain from putting together the result of pretty considerable researches which have been made into those sources whence accurate information was most likely to be derived. It will appear from the memoranda thrown into the note,* that the name of Wallace or Wallensis is not local, but simply designated any native of the ancient kingdom of Wales. By what means, or at what period, the family from

* *Robertus Walensis*, 25 Hen. II. Rot. Pip. in com. Ebor.

Willemus Walensis, 17 H. III. Rot. Pip. in com. Norf. m. 1. dorso.

Henricus le Waleis, 43 H. III. *do.* in com. Wiltes.

John le Waleis, 48 H. III. *do.* in com. Essex.

Joh Walensis, 51 H. III. in Civit. London. Rot. Pip. in eod. loco.

Johan. Waleis, "agistator forestæ de Salseto," Rot. Pip. 55 Hen. III.

"*Adam le Waleis de Chuluetone*," 15 E. I. Rot. Pip. in com. Somerset.

There was a *John le Waleys de Overton*, in the county of Berwick, who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. (3 Pryn. 659.)

David le Waleys, a foot archer, was in the garrison of Berwick in 32d Edwd. I. (Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 8835, 95, b.)

Mauric de Waleys, a scutifer in the retinue of Edmund de Hastings, the Warden of the town of Berwick, was in the garrison there from 12th May to 7th July, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. 2.)

William le Waleys, a scutifer in the garrison of Berwick from 1st June to 7th July, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. f. 4.)

Jóhn Wallen of Ireland was in the garrison of Berwick in March, 5 Edwd. II. (Nero, c. viii. f. 85.)

Walter Wallens, an archer in the garrison of Berwick from 1st June to 7th July, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. f. 5, b.)

William Valeys, a scutifer in the garrison of Berwick from 1st August to 29th March, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. f. 2, b.) And also a scutifer in the same garrison from 1st April to 7th July, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. f. 5.)

Robert Valeys, a scutifer in Berwick garrison from 1st August to 31st December, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. c. xvi. f. 3.)

Walter Valeys, an archer in the garrison of Berwick Castle from 18th November to 7th July, 5 Edwd. II. (Vesp. xvi. f. 6, b.)

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

which Sir William was descended arrived in Scotland, is unknown to us, though, if it be permitted us to hazard a conjecture, we should say that they settled in Ayrshire and Renfrew under the Stewarts, whom they probably accompanied into Scotland. The following pedigree will show their descent.

RICHARD WALENSE acquired lands in Kyle, where he settled and named the place Ricard-tun, which is now the name of a village and parish in Ayrshire. He was a witness to charters of Walter the first Steward, one before the year 1174, (Chart. Pais. 7.)

RICHARD WALENSE succeeded him, and lived cotemporary with Alan the son of Walter.

HENRY WALENSE held lands in Renfrewshire under Walter the Steward, in the early part of the thirteenth century.

RICHARD WALENSE, alias Waleys, (for in the Chartularies the name is written both ways,) succeeded him, and lived at the same time with the second Walter, and with his son Alexander. He held the Estate of Auchencrowe, on the River Ayr, (Dalrym. Col. 413,) as well as the original Estate of Ricardtun, and other lands in Kyle.

ADAM WALENSE flourished during the reign of Alexander II., and is called, in a charter of the Second Walter, "miles noster."

MALCOLM WALEYS— Daughter of Sir
of Elderslie, Reginald Crawford, Sheriff of
Auchenbathie, Ayr.
&c.

SIR ANDREW WALLACE, Knight, killed by the English.

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE OF ELDERSLIE, or ELLERSLIE, in Renfrewshire, second son, first appears in May 1297, and was executed 23d August 1305. S.P. The estate of Ellerslie went to the Wallaces of Ricardtun, as his nearest male-heirs, or perhaps rather to his brother John.

JOHN, brother of William, taken prisoner and executed A.D. 1307.

The family, at a later period, remained long resident upon the spot which had been rendered celebrated by being the birth-place of Sir William, seldom rising into marked eminence, but pursuing calmly and quietly the even tenor of their way. The Members of the Maitland Club are indebted to a descendant of that family for the genealogical notices which are to be found in this volume.*

The reader will learn, with considerable interest, that there exists, in the possession of H. P. Wallace, Esq., of Priory Lodge, near Cheltenham, a painting which has been considered by competent judges to be an original portrait of the Scottish Hero. The editor cannot give a better description of this valuable memorial, or a more judicious sketch of its history, than is to be found in the following extracts from a letter addressed by its present possessor to the Secretary of the Maitland Club.

“The Portrait was procured in France by Margaret Countess of Southesk; and by her presented to an ancestor of mine, Robert Wallace of Holmston, then Sheriff of Ayrshire.

“The above is the inscription on a brass plate. The Picture is framed in the remains of the tree called Sir William Wallace’s Oak, from the Torwood, Stirlingshire, cut from the stump in 1779, and given to my father by Sir James Dunbar of Mochrum.

* Appendix B.

“ The Picture is in perfect preservation, and a fine representation of a Scotch warrior of the period. In letters at the top of the Picture, ‘ GUL : WALLAS : SCOTUS : HOSTIUM : TERROR.’

“ Mr Wallace of Kelly saw the Picture in my house some time ago, and knew of nothing to compete with it in originality. It answers to the description of the Patriot given by Blind Harry, who alludes to a Picture painted of him in France; but into whose hands such a picture fell is stated to be unknown.

“ At least the probability is, that this Picture was painted in France, and it is not probable that it was a copy.”

The present volume is enriched with a fac-simile engraving of the interesting letter addressed by Wallace and Murray, “ the leaders of the army of the kingdom of Scotland,” to the citizens of Lubeck and Hamburg.* This fac-simile was not obtained until the text, as given in the letter-press, had been printed off. The editor regrets that it was not in his possession in sufficient time to obviate the necessity of inserting the conjectural emendation of “ Haddingtonam” for “ Badsingtonam.” It were much to be desired that a document of such peculiar interest to Scotland should be preserved in this kingdom, where alone its peculiar value can be duly estimated. The public is indebted to the kindness of P. A. Ramsay, Esq., of Edinburgh, a Member of the Maitland Club, for having obtained (through

* See p. 159.

the medium of his friend, Robert Peacock, Esq., a Scotsman, resident at Lubeck) from Dr Winckler of the latter place, the fac-simile tracing whence the faithful lithograph accompanying this volume is taken.

The writer of this notice cannot permit it to appear before the Members of the MAITLAND CLUB without attempting to express his sense of the obligations conferred upon the literature and history of Scotland by the exertions of that learned body. He may be permitted to specify, more particularly, his individual obligations to its Secretary, Dr JOHN SMITH of CRUTHERLAND, under whose judicious and zealous administration the Club has issued from its press a series of volumes, equally remarkable for judgment in selection, and beauty in execution.

JOSEPH STEVENSON.

DURHAM, *December* 1841.

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APPENDIX A.

No. I.

[Rot. Claus. 21 Edw. I. m. 9.*]

¶ Alexo Comyn } Quia dilectus et fidei et Alex Comyn comes de Boghan
com de Boghan. } die Sabbati in castro Sancti Swythini anno regni regis
quinto liberavit in garderoba et magistro Thome Beek tunc custodi ejus-
dem garderobe et postmodum episcopo Meneveñ quinquaginta marcas pro quas
finem fecit cum et pro iudicio suo et sic partibus duorum feodorum militum quod et re-
cognovit pro exercitu et Walli anno super dicto put in litteris et patentibus quas
inde habet plenius continet. mandatum est Theobaldo et Baronibus de Secretario quod
predecessorem com de predictis quinquaginta marcis quietum esse faciat. Tunc Rex apud
Westm. xxviii die Aprilis.

[Rot. Pat. 24 Edw. I. m. 6.]

¶ Johe Comyn } Rex omnibus Ballivis et fidei suis ad quos et saltim Cum Johannes
de Badenagh. } Comyn de Badenagh cum uxore et familia sua ad partes
Angli pro preceptum nostrum se transferat ibidem put ordinavimus moraturus. vos

* The following documents are interesting, as showing the intercourse between the Comyns and King Edward.

mandam⁹ qđ eidem Johanni aut familie sue in psonis herneš aut aliis rebz suis in eundo p ptes pđcās t̄ ibidem morando ut pđcām est non inferatis vel inferri pmittatis injuriam molestiam dampnū impedimentū seu g^rvamen In cui⁹ &c. ufq; ad festum oīm Scōz p̄x futuř duratuř. T' ut sup^r [ut patet superius, apud Berewýk sup Twedam xij die Sept.]

No. II.

[Rot. Claus. 21 Edw. I. m. 9.*]

¶ Johe de Balliolo } Quia r̄ accepit p̄ inquis quam p̄ Thomā de Nor-
rege Scoř de t̄ra de } manvill̄ eřc̄ suū ult^r Trentam fieri fecit qđ Aleř
Tindař. } quondam r̄ Scoř ultimo defunct⁹ tenuit de r̄ in
capite t̄ras de Týndale die quo obiit p̄ homagiū t̄ qđ Johe de Balliolo
nunc r̄ Scoř p̄pinquior heres ejus est t̄ plene etatis. t̄ras illas cum p̄tiñ
que occ^rone mortis p̄dci Aleř capte sunt in manū r̄ eidem Johe r̄ reddidit
salvo jure cujuslibet. ita qđ cit^r quindenam Sc̄i Michis p̄x futurā v̄l in
eadem quindena ad nos accedat homagm suum p̄ t̄ris illius r̄ fturus. Et
mand^r est p̄dco eřc̄ qđ eidem r̄ t̄ras p̄dcās cū p̄tiñ liberet in for^r p̄dcā.
T' Rf apud Westm̄ iij. die Maii.
p̄ regē t̄ confiliū.

[Rot. Pat. 21 Edw. I. m. 18.]

¶ Johe de Balliolo } Rf om̄ibz t̄c̄ saltm. Sciatis qđ de illis tribz milibus
rege Scocie. } ducentis quat^r viginti t̄ novem libris quatuordecim
foliđ uno denar̄ t̄ uno obolo in quibz dilc̄us t̄ fidelis n̄r Johe de Balliolo
rex Scocie noř tenetur p̄ relevio suo de t̄ris t̄ teneñtis que fuerūt Der-
vorgulle de Balliolo m̄ris sue in Scocia p̄donavim⁹ eidē regi tria milia
libraz de gr̄a n̄ra sp̄ali. Et de residuis ducentis quat^r viginti t̄ novem

* The following documents illustrate the mode in which Baliol was treated by Edward as to his lands in England.

libris quator decī solidū uno denario ⁊ uno obolo concessimus ei quōd reddat nob̄ ad fcc̄m n̄m S̄ci Michis p̄x̄ futur̄ viginti ⁊ novem libras quatuordecim solidos unū denar̄ ⁊ unū obolū ⁊ postmodū sinḡlis annis ad idē fcc̄m q̄draginta libras ad voluntatē n̄ram unā videēt medietatē ad fcc̄m pasche anno regni n̄ri vicefimo sc̄do ⁊ aliā medietatē ad fcc̄m n̄m S̄ci Michis p̄ximo sequens ⁊ sic de anno in annū ad eosdē terminos quadraginta libras ad voluntatem n̄ram ⁊ donec p̄d̄ce ducente quat̄ viginti novem libere quatuordecim solidi unus denar⁹ ⁊ unus obolus nob̄ p̄solvantur. In cui⁹ rei test̄ t̄c T' R̄ ap̄d Westm̄ viij. die Maii.

[Rot. Claus. 21 EDW. I. m. 2.]

Scot̄. } R̄ cepit homagiū Joh̄is de Balliolo regis Scotie
 ⁊ Joh̄e de Balliolo rege } de omnibz t̄ris ⁊ ten̄ que idem Joh̄es tenet de
 Scocie de homagio capto. } R̄ in capite in Angl. videēt de t̄ra de Tyn-
 dale ⁊ de man̄iis de Soureb̄ ⁊ Penreth cū p̄tiñ que p̄ mortem Alex̄
 nup̄ regis Scotie antecessoris ipsius Joh̄is f̄ capi fecit in manū suam ac de
 p̄parte sua honoris Huntingdoñ et ei t̄ras illas ⁊ ten̄ ac p̄part p̄d̄cam cū
 p̄tiñ f̄ reddidit salvo in oibz jure f̄ ⁊ h̄edum suoꝝ cū f̄ inde loqui volūit
 ⁊ eciam jure alt̄ius cui⁹cūq̄. Et ideo mand̄ est Thome de Normanvill
 es̄c̄ f̄ ult̄ Trentam quōd eidē Joh̄i de maneriis p̄d̄cis cum p̄tiñ que sunt
 in balliva sua plenam seifinam h̄re faciat in forma p̄d̄ca. T' R̄ apud
 Westm̄. xxix die Octobr̄.

Eodem modo mand̄ est Malculmo de Harleýe escaetori f̄ cit̄ Trentam
 quōd p̄d̄co Joh̄i de p̄parte p̄d̄ca cū p̄tiñ que est in balliva sua plenā seifinā
 h̄re fac̄ in forma p̄d̄ca. T' ut sup̄.

No. III.

[Rot. Pat. 24 Edw. I. m. 16.*]

D̄inveniēdo manucapcōes. } Rē ditco ⁊ fideli suo Rogo Brabazon saltm.
 coram Rogo Brabazon. } Sciatis qđ nos pietate moti sup eo qđ tot ⁊
 tam diſsi homines de regno n̄o tociens incidunt in amiſſione vite ⁊ mem-
 broꝝ de quibz quidam ſunt reſtati ⁊ aliqui indiſtati ac aliqui p̄ pbatores
 appellati de homicidiis rob̄iis ⁊ aliis criminibus ⁊ t̄nſgr̄ diſſis cont̄ pacem
 n̄am fc̄is ⁊ quidam p̄ tranſgr̄ de foreſta qui p̄ patrias ſunt vagantes multa
 mala diſſimode facientes p̄petrantes ⁊ p̄curantes p̄ quod quidā ex ip̄is
 imprifonati ⁊ quidā utlagati aut ſubſtracti exiſtant p̄ huiusmodi malis evi-
 tandis ⁊ ſub ſpe melioracionis huiusmodi malef̄cōꝝ ac quiete p̄pli de regno
 n̄o conceſſimus de gr̄a n̄a ſpeciali qđ om̄es huiusmodi hoies qui ad pacem
 n̄am venire volūnt. ſalvo ⁊ ſecure veniant coram voſ quem ad hoc aſ-
 ſignavimus p̄ ſe v̄l p̄ amicos ſuos ⁊ eciam corā voſ p̄ ſe vel p̄ amicos ſuos
 inveniāt ſufficientem manucapcōem de profiſcendo ſtatim in obſequiū
 n̄m ad ptes Scō. ⁊ ibidem morando ad vadia n̄a v̄l alio modo q̄m̄diu
 nob̄ placūit et poſtq̄m̄ inde redierint de ſtando reſto in Curia n̄a ſi quis
 v̄ſus eos loqui volūit de homicidiis rob̄iis ⁊ aliis criminibz ⁊ tranſgr̄. de
 quibz reſtati app̄lati ſeu p̄ quibz imprifonati utlagati aut ſubſtracti exiſ-
 tunt. Et qđ p̄ huiusmodi manucapcōem p̄ vos teſtificateam coram Can-
 celli n̄o h̄eant huiusmodi manucapt' lit̄as n̄as patentes de p̄donacione
 ſecte pacis n̄e ſup homicidiis rob̄iis ⁊ aliis criminibz ⁊ tranſgr̄ p̄dc̄is
 q̄ntum ad nos ptinet. Et ideo voſ mandamus qđ premiſſa faciatis in
 forma p̄dc̄a. In cuius &c. T' Rē apud Barntoñ viij. die Mar̄.

* Edward's mode of collecting an army for the Scottish expedition may be gathered from the following document. See p. 15.

No. IV.

[Rot. Pat. 24 Edw. I. m. 8.*]

Dpteccione. } Fra^t Brianus de Jay Mag^r Milicie Templi in Ang^t qui de licencia R^f morat^r in Ang^t het litt^{as} R^f de attorn in Sco^e sub nōibz fris Johis de Sautre ⁊ Robi de Sautre du^r usq^z ad festum Scⁱ Mich^{is} p^x futu^r ⁊ ab eodem festo usq^z in unū annū p^x seqn completū p^{sentibz} ⁊ c. T^r R^f ap^d Berewyk sup T^{wed} p^{mo} die Septembr^r.

No. V.

[Rot. Pat. 24 Edw. I. m. 7.†]

D p^{sentacione}. } Jo^hes de Drokenefford^r c^licus het litt^{as} R^f de p^{sentacione} ad ec^{cl}iam de Kyngesclere va^c p^r refign^u Hu^g de Creffingh^m nup p^{fone} ejusdem ⁊ ad donac^odem R^f spectantem. Et di^r lrē .J. Wyntoⁿ Ep^o vⁱ ej^o vices g^oenti ip^o agente in p^tibz t^rnsma^r T^r R^f apud Fenh^m xvij. die Sept^r ⁊ dup^p.

No. VI.

[Rot. Liber. 33 Edw. I. m. 1.]

Oct. 25.

P Jo^he de Infula } R^f di^{co} c^lico suo Jo^he de Landale Cam^{ar} suo Sco^e. falt^m. Liberat^e de exitibz tre n^{re} p^dce di^{co} ⁊ fideli n^{ro} Jo^he de Infula quē constituim⁹ Justic^o n^{rm} una cū di^{co} ⁊ fideli n^{ro} Adam de Gurdoⁿ

* See p. 38, 62, 83, etc.

† See p. 41, note.

in ptibz de Leveneys sexaginta marcas finġlis annis ad ĩminos consuetos q^mdiu officio intenderit sup^rdċō. Et nos vobis in compoto v^{ro} ad sc^m n^m debitam allocacōem he^re faciem⁹. T' R^r apud Westm̄. xxv die Octob^r.

Confimiles ĩras ĩent Ministri n^{ri} subscripti de feodis suis infra scriptⁱ. videlicet.

P' Ada Gurdon } P' fat⁹ Adam de Gurdoⁿ Justicⁱ cū p^dcō Jo^he in d^{ci}s ptibz de quadraginta marcis.

¶ Rog^o de Kirkpatrick. } Rog^{us} de Kirkpatrick Justici^a cū Wal^o de Burghdoⁿ in ptibz Galw^yd de decē marcis.

Idē Wal^{us} de Burghedoⁿ Justicⁱ &c. de qndecim marcis.

¶ div^{is} Justicⁱ in } Ro^{bs} de Keth Justicⁱ una cū Hen^r de Kighle in^t Scotia. } Ripiam de For^d ĩ Montes de quadraginta marcis.

Idē Henricus Justicⁱ &c de sexaginta marcis.

Reginaldus le Chieⁿ Justicⁱ cū Jo^he de Vallibz ultra Montes Sco^o de viginti marcis.

Idē Jo^hes &c de Triginta marcis.

Rob^{tus} Heroⁿ c^licus contrarotulo^r R^r in Cam^aria Sco^o de Triginta marcis.

[Rot. Lib. 33 Edw. I. m. 1.]

¶ Jo^he de Segrave } R^r d^lco c^lico suo Jo^he de Sandale Cam^a suo Sco^o saltm. Libate de exitibz ĩre n^{re} p^dcē d^lco ĩ fid^e n^{ro} Jo^he de Seg^rve

nup Custodi t're n're Scocie citra mare t' Justiciař n'ro in ptibz de Leveneys quadringentas Marcas quas ei concessim' p'cipiend' in officio illo a festo s'ci Hillař anno regni n'ri tricesimo t'cio usq; ad p'imū die Augusti p'xio sequentē. Et nos voř inde in compoto v'ro ad Sc'cm n'rm debitā allocacionū h'ere faciem'. T' R' apud Westm̄ xxv die Octobr'.

Conā ĩras h'ent subscripti videlicet.

Ɔ div'is Constab' } Joħes de K'ngestoñ Constabul' Castri R' de Eden-
in Scoč. } burgħ de q'inq'ginta lib' quas &c ut sup'.

Rořtus de Hastang' nup Constabul' Castri R' de Rokeburgh de q'inq'ginta lib' quas &c ut sup'.

Ricūs de Hastang nup Constabul' Castri R' de Jeddeworth de viginti t' quinq; lib' quas &c ut sup'.

Wilt' de Feltoñ Custos peli de L'ynliscu de quadraginta lib' &c ut sup'.

Wilt' B'fset Constabul' Castri R' de St'velyn de Centū marcis quas &c p' custodia eiusdem Castri a t'pe quo R' recessit de ptibz ill' usq; n'c. T' ut s'.

R' p'fato Joħe de Sandele &c factm. Libate de exitibz t're n're p'dce ditco t' fideli n'ro Joħe de K'ngestoñ Constabulario Castri n'ri de Edeneburgh t' uni q' tuor Custodū n'roz t're p'dce q'inq'ginta lib' quas ei concessim' p'cipiend' ad sustentacōem quorūdam ho'ium ad arma quos ipm̄ Joħem p' custodia illa usq; ad p'imam dñicam quadragesime p'xio futuř retinere n'c'rio optebit. Et nos voř &c T' R' ut sup'.*

p' ipm̄ Regem.

* Ut patet superius, apud Westm̄ xxv die Octobr'.

No. VII.

[Rot. Liber. 19 Edw. I. m. 3.*]

ꝥ Rog^o } Rꝥ Theſ̄ t̄ Camariis fuis factm. Libate de th^o nro dilto
 Brabazoun. } t̄ fideli nro Rogo Brabazun uni justiciarioꝝ nroꝝ ad plita
 nra coram nob̄ tenenda assignatoꝝ viginti t̄ quinqꝫ marcas de t̄mino pas-
 che anno regni nri decimo nono de annuo feodo suo quod ei concessimꝰ
 p̄cipiend in officio p̄dco. T' apud Norh^m sc̄do die Juñ.

• The following extract shows the salary of Brabazon. See p. 181.

APPENDIX B.

GENEALOGIE

OR

THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND ANCIENT FAMILY OF CRAIGIE WALLACE,

IN THE SHIRE OF AIRE, AND WESTERN PARTS OF SCOTLAND.

THE antiquity, as well as eminent dignity, of this family, sufficiently appear from ancient history, old charters, and other monuments of this kind, and from its rank and precedency among the Scottish gentlemen ;—for, about the year 1153,

I. ADAM WALLACE of Richardton, in the shire of Air, (whose wife is unknown,) had two sons, viz. Sir Richard, who succeeded him, and Malcolm, who got the five pound land of Elderslie, in portion-natural, holding by ward and releif of the family of Richardton, and afterwards held in the same manner of Craigie, after the two families of Richardton and Craigie were joined in one. Malcolm married Jean Craufoord, daughter to Sir Ronald Craufoord of Corsbie, in the shire of Aire, upon whom he begot the famous and valiant SIR WILLIAM WALLACE OF ELLERSLIE, whose memory is eternised for valour and loyalty. He fought many battles against the English, (who then tyranized over Scotland,) when there were few or none to appear for either King or country ; for which, after the death of Alexander III. King of Scotland, who died without issue, he was most deservedly made Regent of the kingdome, Commander-in-chief, and General of the armies. He performed many stupendious and almost incredible feats of arms, and three several times forced the English to abandon Scotland, whereby he rescued it out of the hands of these oppressors, and restored it to its primitive liberty ; but, at last, he was basely betrayed, and most inhumanly murdered by the English.

II. SIR RICHARD WALLACE of Richardton succeeded to his father. He married Lady Helen Bruce, daughter to the Earle of Carrick, which family derives its pedigree from the same stock with the ancient Kings of the Scots; by whome he had two sones,

III. ADAM WALLACE of Richardton, and SIR DUNCAN WALLACE of Sundrum. This Sir Duncan had a great estate, which he divided among his three daughters; the eldest of whome was married to Lord Cathcart, chief of his name, who, by that marriage, got the lands of Sundrum, Auchincrove, Dalmelling, and many others, which still remain in that noble family.

IV. JOHN WALLACE of Richardton succeeded to his father Adam. He married Dame Margaret Lindsay, only daughter to Sir James Lindsay of Craigie, in the shire of Aire, of which she was heretrix; upon which marriage it was agreed that the arms of Wallace, which were a white lion rampant, in a blue field, should be quartered with the arms of Lindsay of Craigie, which were a chequer, and that the representatives of the family in all time coming should carry the title of Craigie Wallace,—he quitting his title, and she her name. He had three sons: Adam, the eldest; William, who got the lands of Burn Bank, which is a family still; and Robert, who died in France without issue.

V. ADAM WALLACE of Craigie, first Knight of that name, succeeded to his father John. He married Douglas, daughter to the Lord Dalkeith, now Earles of Morton, by whome he had an only son.

VI. JOHN WALLACE of Craigie succeeded his father Adam. He married Dame Elizabeth Cathcart, daughter to Alan Lord Cathcart, by whom he had three sons; William, the eldest, Adam, the second, who was laird of Cairnhill, which is still a considerable family, and the third, Hew, who married the heretrix of Ellerslie. This John was a very gallant man. He was Lieutenant-General to King James II., and fought the battle of Sark or Solway against the English, in anno 1447, wherein he was victorious, and, with his own hand, killed Magnus the English General. He was wounded in the field, whereof he died about three months after the battle. The standard which he carried at the feight, and the signet ring which he wore, are kept in the family as monuments of him.

VII. WILLIAM WALLACE of Craigie succeeded to his father John. He married Margaret Johnston, daughter to the Laird of Johnston, now Marquis of Anandale, by whom he had

VIII. JOHN WALLACE of Craigie succeeded to his father William. He married Dame Catharine Douglas, daughter to the Earl of Angus, now Duke of Douglass, by whom he had one son.

IX. JOHN WALLACE, stiled the Good Laird, succeeded to his father John, about the year 1507. He married Margaret Rutherford, daughter to the Lord Rutherford, chief of the name, (of which family was that most noble and valiant General Rutherford, Earl of Teviot, now long extinct,) by whom he had four sons; John, the eldest, Alexander, who went to the North of England, and married the heretrix of Bemly, in Yorkshire, which is a considerable family to this day, lineally descended from him, who still retain the name of Wallace. Besides many others of that surname, he propagated in the Easter Border of England, Robert, who was a Colonel in Germany, and was killed there without leaving any issue, and Thomas, Master of Arts, and one of the Professors in the University of Saint Andrews. He married a citizen's daughter there; upon whom he begot an only son, called Thomas, who, in his younger years, was page to King James the Fifth, and thereafter domestic to Queen Mary, and in great respect with her. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Langside, but made his escape to the Low Countries, and died at Antwerp. He married a wife of a good family, and there having made a considerable figure, according to a monument erected to him, he left behind him a son of this wife, called Francis Wallace, who was a merchant at Lisbon. This John had also two daughters; the eldest was Lady Waghton Hepburn, in East Lothian, and the other Lady Clunie Crichton.

X. JOHN WALLACE of Craigie succeeded to his father John, the Good Laird. He married Dame Isobell Campbell, daughter to Lord Loudon, now Earl of Loudon, by whom he had four sons, William, Robert, Thomas, and Michael.

XI. WILLIAM WALLACE of Craigie succeeded to his father John. He married Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the Laird of Bargeny, by whom he had one son, John. His relict, Margaret Kennedy, was afterwards married to Gilbert Earl of Cassillis, by whom she had two sons, Gilbert the Earl, and Sir Thomas Tutor of Cassillis, of whom is descended the family of Culzean, and three daughters, the eldest of whom was married to the Earl of Orkney, the second to Lord Gray, and the youngest to the Laird of Barnbarrow.

XII. JOHN WALLACE of Craigie succeeded to his father William. He married Lady Margaret Cunningham, daughter to the Earl of Glencairn. He had five sons; John the eldest, William, Robert, Michael, and Allan; this last was a mer-

chant in the Low Countries, where he made a considerable figure, and left issue, which still subsists very creditably there. He had also one daughter, called Anabella, who was married to Sir William Hamilton of Sorn, in the shire of Air.

XIII. JOHN WALLACE of Craigie succeeded his father John. He married Lady Margaret Campbell, daughter to Lord Loudon, now Earl of Loudon, by whom he had only one son.

XIV. JOHN WALLACE of Craigie succeeded to his father John. He married Lady Margaret Maxwell, daughter to the Earl of Nithsdale, by whom he had five sons. Hew the eldest, William, Thomas, James, and Robert, whose posterity by hereditary succession possess many lands not only in the shire of Aire, but in other parts of Scotland.

XV. SIR HEW WALLACE of Craigie, Baronet, succeeded to his father John. He married Esther Ker, daughter to the Laird of Littledden, by whom he had only one son, Hew, who became *fatuus*, and thereby was incapable to succeed. Sir Hew himself was a constant adherer to the King's interest during the long rebellion in King Charles the First and Second's time; he raised a regiment of foot for their service, upon his own expenses, for which the Rebels sequestrated his estate, and continued in possession thereof till King Charles the Second's Restoration. All this brought him under a vast burden of debt, and forced him to sell a considerable part of his estate, (which was then in a very flourishing condition,) but he had never any recompence therefore, by reason of his son's being *fatuus*. He was succeeded by

XVI. SIR THOMAS WALLACE of Craigie, Baronet, son to William Wallace of Failford, his first cousin. This Sir Thomas was procreated betwixt William Wallace of Failford, cousin and nearest heir-male to the Laird of Craigie, and Agnes Boyd, daughter to Sir Thomas Boyd of Bonshaw, uncle to the Lord Boyd, after Earl of Kilmarnock. Sir Thomas succeeded about the year 1660, and followed the study of law for some years; practised as Council at Law in the chief Courts of Judicature within the kingdom of Scotland; he was then advanced to be Senator of the College of Justice, which is the Supreme Court for civil affairs; shortly thereafter, he was made Lord Justice-Clerk, who is an Officer of State by his appointment, and Chief Judge in all criminal causes; which posts he enjoyd as long as he lived. He married Dame Euphane Gemmill, daughter to William Gemmill of Templeland and Garrive, in the shire of Air. This William Gemmill's predecessor left England upon account of a quarrel, and settled in Scotland, where he purchased the

lands above mentioned, which the same Euphane, being only child and heiress to her father, brought into the family of Craigie Wallace, where they still continue. He had two sons, William and Thomas, and four daughters; the first, Agnes, married Sir Adam Blair of Carberrie, in Midlothian, the second, Elizabeth, married the Laird of Halyards in Fifeshire, chief of his name, the third, Euphane, married Drummond Earle of Melford, principal Secretary of State to King James the Seventh, who bore him children, the fourth, Grissel, married Patrick Kininmont of that Ilk, chief of the name; she bore him one daughter, named Grissel, first married to Sir Alexander Murray of Melgund, Baronet, in the shire of Angus, thereafter to the Honourable Thomas Kennedy of Dunaure, Esquire, in the shire of Air, Lord Advocate to her late Majesty Queen Anne, now one of the Honourable Barons in his Majesty's Exchequer in Scotland.

XVII. SIR WILLIAM WALLACE of Craigie, Baronet, succeeded to his father Sir Thomas. He married Menzies, daughter of Menzies of Pitfoodells, in Aberdeenshire, by whom he had one daughter. He was a very loyal gentleman, and had the honour to command a regiment of cavalry under King James the Seventh, and, when that Prince retired to France, Sir William followed him, and constantly adhered to his interest as long as he lived, whereby his estate suffered not a little.

XVIII. SIR THOMAS WALLACE of Craigie, Baronet, succeeded to his brother Sir William. He married Dame Rachel Wallace, daughter to Sir Hew Wallace of Wolmet, by whom he had four sons, Thomas, William, John, and Hew; the three last died without issue.

XIX. SIR THOMAS WALLACE of Craigie, Baronet, succeeded to his father Sir Thomas. He married, first, Eleanor Agnew, only daughter to Colonel Agnew of Lochryan and Croach, by whom he had one son, who died without issue, and a daughter, Frances, who was married to John Dunlop of Dunlop.* John Dunlop of Dunlop had issue by his wife, Frances Wallace,

XX. SIR THOMAS, who succeeded his grandfather, and married, first, Eglinton Maxwell, daughter of Sir William Maxwell, Bart. of Monreith, by whom he had issue, Thomas, who died young, and,

XXI. SIR JOHN ALEXANDER AGNEW, the present Baronet, is a Lieutenant-

* The Dunlops of Dunlop deduce from Dominus Gulielmus de Dunlop, who was settled in the property in the reign of Alexander the Third, about 1260.

General in the army, Knight Commander of the Bath, Knight of the Turkish Order of the Crescent, and Colonel of the 88th Regiment of Foot. He served with distinction in India, Egypt, and the Peninsula. He married, in 1829, Janet, daughter of William Rodger, Esq. of Glasgow, by whom he had issue,

William, born 1830.

Alexander, born 1831, died 1839.

George Gordon, born 1833.

Robert, born 1834.

Agnes, born 1838, and

Francis James, born 1840.

THE WALLACE PAPERS.

SELECTION OF PAPERS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

HISTORY OF SIR WILLIAM WALLACE.

I.

EXTRACTS FROM THE COTTONIAN MANUSCRIPT

CLAUD. D. VI. fol. 163.

Mox idem Johannes insignitus diademate in Scotiam maturavit ; Scoti autem volentes nolentes illum ut regem animo turgenti moleste fufceperunt. Illico omnes famulos fuos de fua notitia et natione fummoverunt, et alios ignotos fibi ad fuam miniftrationem deputarunt ; regium nomen ei ægre impoferunt, non fpontanea voluntate, fed coacti, et regium officium ei penitus abftulerunt, dicentes mutue, Nolumus hunc regnare fuper nos. Ille autem fimplex et idiota, quafi mutus et elinguis, comperta fuperftitiofa feditione Scottorum, non aperuit os fuum ; timuit enim ferale rabiem illius populi, ne eum fame attenuarent, aut carcerali custodia mancipient. Sic degebat inter eos anno integro, quafi agnus inter lupos. Rex itaque Edwardus voti compos effectus in Angliam remeavit, quia, dominante invidia, incepit guerra inter ipfum et regem Franciæ Philippum.

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A

**QUOMODO SCOTI ELEGERUNT SIBI DUODECIM PARES, SPRETO REGIS
PROPRII CONSILIO.**

Succedente tempore, collectis undique Scottorum primatibus, concilium fecerunt in unum adversus regem suum et adversus Christum ejus. Illico eligerunt duodecim Pares, secundum consuetudinem Galliae, qui populo praessent et regnum terrae disponderent. In omnibus his praedictus Johannes de Balliolo, rex terrae nuncupatus et praedeterminatus, non aperuit os suum. Anno igitur primo regni sui completo, praedeterminaverunt duodecim Pares, ut ipse personaliter ad Parliamentum regis Angliae accederet, et secundum compositionem, quae facta erat inter eos, legitime obediret. Processu temporis idem rex nuncupatus Scotiae versus Londonias cum parvo comitatu iter arripuit ad Parliamentum regis Angliae segniter; et, quod inopinabile et cunctis discretis incredibile est, inconsulto rege Angliae, et omnibus qui aderant ignorantibus, clam discessit, secrete aufugit, ad non modicum suis ipsius dedecus et opprobrium sempiternum. Quod cum regi Edwardo a referentibus divulgatum est, stupefactus est, cogitans intra se causam suae fatuae praesumptionis et evasionis. Mox iussit omnia bona sua mobilia et immobilia, villas et maneria, quae habebat in Anglia, confiscari, et in manibus suis capi, ministros ejus ab omni officio submoveri, balivos suos substitui. Mox idem rex Scotiae in Scotiam festinavit. Deinde, secundo anno regni sui, ipse et duodecim Pares, quos principales totius Scotiae eligerant ad tuendum regnum, et omnes alii, ad eorum infortunium, bellum contra regem Angliae, cujus potestati se unanimiter ante submiserant et fidelitatem juraverant, totis viribus suis moverunt, et ideo dominus rex Angliae Edwardus, relicto transfretorio imperfecto, quod facere debuisset contra inimicos suos, ad partes Gallicanas, ad Scotos vexillo erecto iter cum suis arripuit. Mox Berwico applicuit, quem sibi subdere desideravit. Applicanti autem sibi rex Scotiae nuncupativus cum innumerabili gente Scottorum obvius ei venit, contra praecipuum dominum suum bellaturus.

EXPROBRATIO SCOTORUM.

Confestim unus e Scotis alta voce cepit convicia et verba probrosa regi Angliae inferre patria lingua :

“ Kÿng Edward !
 wanne þu haueſt Berwic,
 pike þe !
 wanne þu haueſt geten,
 dike þe !

Nec mora; capta est civitas .vij. idus Aprilis, per Edwardum regem Angliæ, et sine difficultate statim intravit cum toto exercitu suo; gens illa nuda et inermis misere lacerata occubuit, ceciderunt quemadmodum folia arborum in autumno, nec solum superstitem in civitate de Scotis inventum reliquit gladius regis; tandem suos divina pietas victoria decoravit, Scotos infideles cæde simul et fuga dehonestavit, nimio terrore percussi fugerunt, dicentes, “ Fugiamus hinc, quia non est Deus nobiscum.” In illo conflictu miserabili tantam gratiam contulit Anglicanis divinæ potentiæ magnificentia quod nec unus ex illis occubuit, nisi tantum Ricardus frater comitis Cornubiæ, qui ex incuria levavit galeam suam stolidè, ut videret Scotos fugientes, unde quidam ex eis inopinate emisit jaculum et percussit eum in fronte nuda, et statim mortuus est. Mox rex Edwardus ira commotus, quasi aper a canibus infecutus, jussit nemini parcere. Nulli fuit cura de humatione cadaverum occisorum, incedebant super corpora prostrata tanquam super arenam; tandem ne foetor cadaverum totam civitatem corrumpere, et nares circumstantium exacerbaret, visum est Vicenariis ut corpora defunctorum in mare, seu in profundis puteis, projicerent, quod factum fuit.

Rex igitur Edwardus, potita victoria, vacavit delere gentem Scotorum, incommutabili sævitæ indulgens. Cumque nulli, prout reperiebatur, parceret, convenerunt omnes Ecclesiastici viri et Religiosi miserandæ patriæ, cum omni clero sibi subdito, reliquias Sanctorum et ecclesiastica sacra nudis ferentes pedibus, misericordiam regis pro salute populi sui imploraturi; mox ut præsentiam ipsius habuerunt, flexis genibus deprecati sunt, ut pietatem super contrita gente haberet. Satis enim periculi intulerat, nec erat opus perpaucos qui remanserant usque ad unum delere, fineret illos portiunculam habere patriæ, perpetuæ servitatis jugum ultro gestaturos.

Cumque regem in hunc modum^a rogavissent, commovit eum pietas in lacrimas, sanctorumque virorum petitioni adquiescens, veniam donavit, a persecutione cessavit.

QUALITER REX EDWARDUS JUSSIT FODERE FOSSAM INTER BERWICUM ET SCOTOS.

Rex autem, non immemor illusionis et improperii Scotorum, jussit fodi profundam fossam inter Scotos et Berwicum, et omnes e finibus depulit, atque plebem suam a tam atroci dilaceratione liberavit, ad quos jussit construere fossam profundam inter Berwicum et Scotos, ut esset arcendis hostibus a turba instructa terrori, civibus vero tutamini. Collecto igitur privato et publico sumtu, incumbunt indigenæ operi, et foveam perficiunt; et, ut dicebatur, ipsemet cum vehiculo terram portabat, ut foveam accumularet, et accumulando exaltaret; deinde magnos palos et longos infigi fecit in summitate foveæ, ut impediret introitum Scotorum.

QUOMODO CASTRUM DE DUNBAR OBSESSUM FUIT AB ANGLICIS.

Eodem tempore rege Edwardo tertio adhuc in Berwico moram trahente, castrum de Dunbar obsessum fuit ab Anglicanis, et quarto die sequenti acceperunt octingenti Scoti armati, et quadraginta milia peditum in subsidium obsessorum; sed Anglici, relictis circa castrum quadraginta armatis cum eorum sequacibus ad custodiendum obsessos, illis dederunt obviam, et Scotos sine ictu in fugam conversos persecuti sunt, et octoginta armatos et octo milia peditum occiderunt. In crastino autem accessit Edwardus rex Angliæ ad castrum, et omnes Scoti obsessi in castro, scilicet, comes de Mentet, comes de Auteel, dominus Johannes Comin, junior, dominus Willelmus de Sayncler et filius suus, dominus Willelmus de Moref et filius ejus, dominus Ricardus Suard, ac multi alii, se voluntati regis Angliæ submiserunt; et in brevi postea rex Scotiæ et omnes majores natu de regno Scotiæ ad regem Angliæ venerunt, et pacem, salvo vita et membris, amisso jure hereditario, habuerunt. Deinde rex Angliæ, bellicosus ferocissimus et humilibus mansuetissimus, Johannem de Balliolo, regem Scotiæ, et quosdam alios in sua custodia retinuit,

^a The MS. reads "mundum."

quosdam libere abire permittit, et quibusdam hereditatem prius amissam concessit. Hi omnes juraverunt ei iterum debitam domino fidelitatem in dolo, quod tamen juramentum diu non duravit; egressi finguli a facie regis, valedicentes regi. Tunc dominus Johannes de Balliolo, rex Scotiæ, missus est cum custodibus in Turrim Londoniensem, data venia Scotorum populo. Rex Edwardus commisit custodiam totius Scotiæ comitibus Warrenniæ et Patricio de Marchia, et aliis duobus, deinde Londonias maturavit expeditius, quia oporteret eum Gallicanas partes adire, pro magnis et arduis negotiis expendis. Rex igitur, cum Londonias adventasset, et Johannem de Balliolo, quem regem Scotiæ constituisset, claro intuitu conspiceret, cogitabat et mutuo loquebatur eum plexisse supplicio, tum quod esset regis sui et domini proditor, tum quod inobediens et perjurus. Mox ille corruit ad pedes regis cum lacrimis petens misericordiam super his offensis, instantissime postulans ut daretur ei copia respondendi seipsum excusando. Dominus autem rex, ut erat pius et misericors, exemplo Salvatoris misericordiam anteponebat iudicio, sic orsus est fari regi Scotiæ, “Dic manifesto quod animo concepisti.” Mox juravit coram rege Edwardo^b et primatibus suis, quod nunquam ex quo rex Scotiæ ab eo ordinatus fuisset, post ejus abcessum, nec uno die privilegio regiæ dignitatis gaudebat; verum etiam insidias et Scotorum machinationes verebatur, et per consequens oportebat eum aut mori, vel eorum incompositas voluntates æmulari; “Et ideo vi me compellabant contra vos, dominum meum et regem, calcitrare.” Ad quem rex cum solito juramento modestè respondit, “Hoc bene credo.” Confestim misericordia motus veniam et pacem donavit, tandem non modicum post permittit eum peragrarè spatiandi gratia ubicum ei placeret per viginti miliaria extra civitatem Londoniarum, adjunctis custodibus; et ille, inclinato capite, gratias agens domino regi, promittit se fidelem in obsequio suo mansurum dum viveret. Totus annus ille asperitate guerræ inhorruit, et etiam secundus inter Anglos et Scotos. Denique rex Angliæ munitiones, quæ potissimum partibus suspectis nocebant, strenue debellabat, nec minor erat ei animus adeundi quæ sibi competebant munia, qui nullam occasionem prætermittebat, quo minus sæpe et adversarios propulsaret et sua defenderet;

^b Edwardum, MS.

adversarios dico, quia primitus principem Walliæ Leoninum, quo devicto, David fratrem suum,^e qui nefanda prodicione molitus est eum infestare; deinde regem Franciæ, cum fratre suo Karolo et duodecim Paribus, possessiones et suas injuste et præsumtuose invadentes et vindicantes, hoc enim imponebant ei licitum, sed falso; deinde et novissime Scotos jam tertio eum inquietantes, quasi simul et semel. Deus autem, qui superbis resistit, a quo robur, fortitudo et magnanimitas procedit, illi gratiæ suæ munus contulit, ubi magna strage hostium patrata, clarissime triumphavit. Contrivit autem Dominus infideles hostes suos contritione magna, et ex eis innumerabilia milia, tam bello campestri quam navali, mors cruenta devoravit.

COMMENDATIO REGIS ANGLIÆ.

Erat enim Edwardus^d fortis pede, fortior equo, et ad regendum exercitum doctus, tales probitates ipsius, dum adhuc in Terra Sancta^e moraretur, fama affiduis volatibus detulerat; cui tantam gratiam Salvator contulit, ut a cunctis fere populis timeretur et amaretur, ut de eo adaptari poterit quod de Ismaele legitur, "Manus ejus contra omnes, et manus omnium contra eum."

QUOMODO COMES FLANDRIÆ PETIIT AUXILIUM REGIS ANGLIÆ CONTRA INCURSUM REGIS FRANCIE, QUI EUM IMPUGNARE NITEBATUR.^f

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QUOMODO EDWARDUS REX ANGLIÆ SE PARAVIT IN SUBSIDIUM COMITIS FLANDRIÆ.^g

.

BELLUM DE STRIVELYN.

Interea, non multum post, eodem anno, Scoti, audito nuncio quod rex Edwardus cum nuda manu et parvo comitatu Flandriam intrasset, deinde

^e Suun, MS.

^d Edwardum, MS.

^e After "sancta" a coeval hand has inserted the word "dum" above the line.

^f ^g The chapters, of which the rubrics are here given, are omitted as not bearing upon the subject.

in Galliam, desperati fui reditus, incunctanter et plus solito, jam secundo, irruere in Anglicanos præsumferunt. Ad pontem de Strivelin comiti Warrenniæ, quem rex Edwardus constituerat Custodem Scotiæ, dederunt insultum; et comite cum suis, propter urgentem necessitatem, in fugam converso, dominum Hugonem de Creffingham, Thesaurarium deputatum in Scotia, et quosdam alios fere usque ad centum ibidem captos, interemerunt, scientes se non habere obstaculum ratione absentis regis tunc in Flandria moram trahentis. Denique quatuor comites Angliæ, densata caterva incedentes, impetum Scotorum per strictum locum incedentes, nescii quos dolos versuti hostes instituerant; cum vero præterire inceperent, egressi ex improvise^b Scoti ipsos, nihil tale præmeditantes, occupaverunt et penetraverunt. At illi, tametsi ex improvise occupati et dissipati fuissent, tandem tamen refociliatis catervis, resumtis viribus viriliter resistunt. Tandem Scoti congressus Anglicanorum ferre non valentes, ocius campum relinquentes, fugam inierunt, usi montium auxilio in nemorum densitate delituerunt.

QUOMODO REX EDWARDUS HABUIT MEDIETATEM ANGLIÆ.ⁱ

.....

QUOMODO PETRUS DE MAROIN AD APICEM APOSTOLATUS EST ELECTUS.^k

.....

QUOMODO BONEFACIUS OCTAVUS MISIT DUOS CARDINALES, UNUM IN FRANCIAM ET ALIUM IN ANGLIAM, UT GUERRAM INTER DICTOS REGES EXORTAM ADNIHILANTES, PACEM ET VERAM CONCORDIAM REFORMARENT.^l

.....

QUALITER SCOTI JAM TERTIO CEPERUNT INQUIETARE ET INFESTARE PRÆCIPUUM DOMINUM SUUM EDWARDUM REGEM ANGLIÆ, SOLITA INFIDELITATE UTENTES.

Quia odiosa gens pondere in manum scelerum oppressa, quia semper

^b "Ex improso," MS.

^{i k l} Omitted; they are to be found upon fol. 166, b. of the manuscript.

civilia proelia sitiens de domesticis et patriotis in tantum debilitatis et neci traditis, qui cum prius semetipfos ex decreto et iustitia dictante, regiae potestati regis Angliæ Edwardi subjugassent, et eidem, ut principali domino homagium fecerent et debitam fidelitatem juraverunt, et seipfos una cum rege suo subdiderunt; nunc velut bona vinea degenerata in amaritudinem versa, dominum principalem jam tertio præsumunt inquietare et infestare; suæ salutis tam corporis quam animæ immemores, parum intelligentes illud Evangelicum "Omne regnum in se divisum defolabitur, et domus supra domum cadet," regnum eorum in se divisum fuit, quia furor eorum et civilis discordiæ et livoris fumus mentem eorum hebetavit. Verum quia superbia eorum regi Angliæ obedientiam ferre non permisit, idcirco patriam defolatam conspiciunt, domos etiam supra domos ruentes, quod posteri eorum in futurum lugebunt. Videbunt enim Anglicanos oppida, civitates atque ceteras eorum possessiones obtinere, ex quibus misere expulsi et neci inopinatæ traditi prioris dignitatis statum vel nunquam vel vix recuperabunt, propter eorum superbiam et rebellionem. Edwardo namque reverso in australes regni sui partes, versuti Scoti et fallaces, resociatis sibi focis qui remanserant, omnes communi assensu quemdam progenie ignobilem, nomine Willelmum le Waleis, elegerunt in eorum ducem et conquæstorem, ut iterum contra regem Angliæ bella moverent frustra.

QUALITER SCOTI ELEGERUNT WILLELMUM LE WALEIS IN DUCEM EORUM
ET CONQUÆSTOREM.

Eodem tempore fuit in Scotia quidam juvenis, Willelmus le Waleis nomine, sagittarius, qui arcu et pharetra victum quærebat, de infima progenie et exili ortus et educatus. Cum audaciam suam in multis locis examinasset, ut mos est virorum fortium, petivit a Scotis licentiam ut Anglicanis posset obviare, nec non eorum exercitui resistere, ut ei auxilium impenderent, et eorum exercitum tueretur; illis cum juramento pollicendo, quod si sibi licentia congregandi cum illis committeretur, promittebat se totam Angliam adepturum, et eos usque Londonias perduciturum, et sic in manu forti sibi totum regnum Angliæ manciparet. Cumque fatuitati suæ nec non inordinatæ præsumptioni indulgeret, et brutalem

exercitum Scotorum promissionibus suis vanis et fraudulentis illuffet, factus est voti compos. Illico omnes Scoti dictum Willelmum le Waleis, progenie ignobilem, elegerunt et constituerunt ducem et conquæstorem super exercitum illorum. Mox, collectis Scotis, adhæserunt ei a minimo usque ad maximum; unde quidam comes de illa natione præcipuus dictum Willelmum militari balteo præcinxit faciens de prædone militem, tanquam de corvo cignum; unde versus,

Accipit indignus fedem cui non prior dignus.

Deinde ingressus est Berwicum, circumvit provinciam Scotiæ, postea totam Northumbriam, et maximum tumultum per provincias faciendo, agros populando, civitates et opida complanando, incolis omnia sua tam igne quam deprædatione eripiendo. Sic igitur ipso agente, stultitia sua incomposita ipsum suadente, confluebant ad ipsum omnes Scoti et singuli utriusque sexus a puberta ætate usque ad senium, ita ut in brevi tantum haberet exercitum quantum nullus princeps, secundum eorum opinionem, posset resistere. Ob hoc itaque tumidum habens animum cepit Anglicanos inquietare, et ausus fuit contra præcipuum dominum suum bella movere, ad suam perniciem et totius Scotiæ ignominiosam confusionem. Quod cum regi Angliæ Edwardo nunciatum fuisset, demissis deinde quinque mensibus, paravit exercitum suum ut Scotis obviaret, ut brutam et præsumtuosam eorum temeritatem attenuaret.

QUOMODO REX EDWARDUS PARAVIT SE CONTRA SCOTOS.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo .cc. nonagesimo octavo, qui est annus regni regis Edwardi .xxvj., idem rex se paraverat non inertia cohorte virorum bellatorum, ut audaciam Scotorum opprimeret. Eodem tempore paschali apud Berwicum cum tota fortitudine sua applicuit; mox intravit absque obstaculo, quia Scoti fugerant, audito regis adventu, nimio terrore perculsi. Deinde profectus est eos, et in festo Mariæ Magdalensæ proximo sequente commisit bellum apud Faukurke, ibi maximam stragem hostium suorum commisit, quam non poterant vivi humare; videlicet, fere centum milia.

QUOMODO WILLELMUS LE WALEIS ORDINAVIT EXERCITUM SUUM IN BELLO.

Willelmus le Waleis construxerat sepem inter exercitum suum et Anglicanos, longos palos et non modicos in terram fixit, et cum funibus et cordis illaqueavit ad modum sepi, ut congressum et egressum Anglicanorum impediret. Deinde convocatis catervis suis, omnem populum pedestrem in primo concursu compellebat intrare; dicens illis patria lingua, —“Hij haue pult ou into a gamen, hoppet yif ye kunnet,” quasi dicat; “Jam introduxi vos in foveam et periculi discrimen, reslitate si poteritis, ut salvemini.” Ipse autem, non ut princeps, sed ut seductor aufugit; nam exercitus principe carens, et disciplinæ militaris ignarus, aut ante congressionem dilabatur, aut in ipso conflictu facile decedit; valet multum in bellis ducis præsentia, valet spectata in talibus audacia, valet usus, et maxime disciplina. Quibus, ut dixi, carens Willelmus le Waleis, et per consequens nihil valens, sed populum seducens. Nam facilius est accipitrem ex milvo fieri, quam ex rustico subito eruditum; et qui profundam doctrinam ei infundit, facit ac si margaritas inter porcos spargeret. Rex autem, cum vidisset tantam multitudinem populi pedestris et inermis, erant enim in triplo plures Scoti quam Angli, sed sine ordine et armis incedentes, statim rex iussit Walensibus, qui cum rege venerant fere ad decem milia, ut Scotos expugnarent, qui nolentes sed continuo difugerunt, nec tamen Scotis nocuerunt, dolum præmeditantes; semper enim necis parentum suorum memores, quam idem rex anno elapso intulerat, æterno illum habebunt odio. Unde tunc temporis suspicabatur ab Anglicis, quod si rex deteriorem partem belli pateretur, quibus etiam nugis Walensis incitati, si fas libito concessisset, vindictam fumere niterentur. Mox illis talia præmeditantibus, compefcuit eos miseratio divina, qui non derelinquit sperantes in se. Deinde cognita malitia Walensium, quidam Anglicanus sic regem affatur;

“Rex Edwarde! fidem
Si des Wallensibus, erras,
Ut dederas pridem;
Sed eorum diripe terras.”

Distulerunt tamen Walenses ne Scotos expugnarent, donec, rege triumphante, Scoti undique corruerunt quomodo flores arborum, maturacente fructu; tunc ait rex, "Si Dominus nobiscum, quis contra nos?" Statim Walenses irruerunt in Scotos, eos prosternendo in tantum ut terram operirent cadavera eorum, tanquam nix in hyeme. Ceciderunt in illo bello de Scotis fere centum milia de paupere vulgo. Concessit ergo Deus fortunam belli se credentibus, et inenarrabilem contritionem se contemptuentibus. Rex itaque Edwardus victor clarissimus extitit; Willelmus Waleis et Majores Scotiæ, cum vidissent se regi Angliæ minime resistere, et tantam stragem populo suo accidisse, mutuo dixerunt, "Recedamus hinc, non enim est Deus nobiscum!" Continuo cogente timore fugerunt, et ad oppida et nemora, et ad omnem locum, ubi tutum putabant refugium, dilituerunt. Mulieres vero, acceptis parvulis suis et suppellectilibus, per partes maritimas evaserunt, parato navigio ingrediuntur mare, tendentes quo fors illos conduceret. Demum cum vela prætendissent, insurrexerunt venti contrarii, et navigia eorum dissipaverunt, et in icu oculi infra maria periclitaverunt.

QUOMODO WILLELMUS LE WALEIS CUM QUINQUE MILITIBUS FUGIT AD PARTES GALLICANAS.

Tunc temporis Willelmus le Waleis cum quinque militibus partes Gallicanas petiit, petens et postulans auxilium a rege Franciæ. Cumque pervenisset ad civitatem Amiens, statim denunciatum est regi Franciæ quod inimicus regis Angliæ illuc adventasset; mox iussit eum teneri et sub carcerali custodia observari, quod gratanter et lætissime gentes illius civitates, scilicet Amiens, compleverunt, quod multum diligebant regem Angliæ. Tunc rex Franciæ misit epistolam regi Angliæ, dicens, si acceptaret, ut mitteret ei Willelmum le Waleis, conquæstorem Scotiæ; qui rescripsit ei multipliciter regratiando, et instantissime postulando ut permitteret eum cum suis apud Amiens sub custodia possessiones suas expenderet, quod factum est.

QUOMODO EDWARDUS REX REDIIT IN ANGLIAM, DEVICTIS SCOTIS.
Cumque regi Edwardo victoria cessisset, Scotis devictis, voluit commi-

litionibus suis de dicta Scotia portionem dare, uni villam, alteri castellum, et sic de singulis, et ut conjuges de Anglia adducerent, ut ex eis heredes nascerentur qui terram illam perpetuo possiderent, et ut nullam commixtionem cum Scotis de cetero ulterius facerent. Demum cum universas provincias Scotiæ rex Edwardus defæcasset, nec non suæ deditioi subjugasset, munivit castellum de Strivelin militibus Northumbriæ cum sufficienti sustentatione unius anni; ipse vero in Angliam repetavit. Digreditur rex, digrediuntur et proceres, exceptis illis quibus tutela Scotiæ commendabatur. Processu temporis Scoti prædictum castellum obsidebant diutina obsidione, fodientes circumque foveam profundam, introitum et exitum eorum impediens. Tandem consumtis omnibus victui necessariis, obsessi Anglicani se voluntati Scotorum commiserunt, falvis eis vita et membris, quia sic oportuit esse, cogente necessitate, nec non rege Edwardo permittente, oportebat illis aut reddere castellum aut fame mori, quia jam consumferant vitæ necessaria.

QUALITER BONEFACIUS PAPA NITEBATUR PACIFICARE REGEM FRANCIE ET ANGLIE.

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QUOMODO PAPA BONEFACIUS MISIT EDUARDO REGI ANGLIE, UT EI MITTERET JOHANNEM DE BALLIOLO, QUONDAM REGEM SCOTIE.

Emissis deinde aliquot diebus, quidam pontifex Romanus a latere domini Papæ missus, in Angliam applicuit, litteras papales regi Angliæ Edwardo porrexit, quarum tenor erat, ut visis litteris, statim ei transmitteret Johannem de Balliolo, quondam regem Scotiæ. Mox respondit Edwardus rex [ut] tanquam seductorem, falsarium, et perjuratum illum mitteret; ad quem episcopus Romanus regi respondit, "Pro tali illum admitto, et summo pontifici representabo." Sine mora dictus episcopus cum Johanne [de] Balliolo versus Doveram iter arripuit, deinde vix unam navim nactus, ut eam fortuna conduxerat, Gallicana litora expetunt. Cumque cistæ dicti Johannis de Balliolo in navim collocarentur, una cum cistis et suppellectili Romani episcopi, quidam de circumstantibus, cui cura major de navi, fiscitabatur cui erant cistæ cum contentis, respon-

dit, " Domini Johannis de Balliolo," at ille dixit, " Volo videre quidnam contineant." Confestim apertæ sunt, in quibus inventa fuit regia corona Scotiæ aurea, et figillum Scotiæ commune, et multa vasa aurea et argentea, et numisma non modicum, quæ omnia regi Angliæ statim delata sunt. Rex autem coronam auream offeri jussit beato Thomæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, figillum vero Scotiæ jussit servari; numisma totaliter remisit dicto Johanni ad viaticum itineris. Quod cum vidisset episcopus Romanus ductor suus, multum commendabat sapientiam et civilitatem domini regis, dicens sapientiam Salomonis esse in eo. Deinde dimisit dictum Johannem de Balliolo in quodam castello Cambriæ custodiendum, amotis omnibus ministris suis, de ipso tractaturus coram summo pontifice, quid de ipso agendum esset.

QUOMODO REX EDWARDUS TENUIT PARLIAMENTUM SUUM DIE HOKEDAY.

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QUOMODO BONEFACIUS PAPA ITERATO MISIT EPISTOLAM REGI FRANCIE PHILIPPO ET REGI ANGLIÆ EDWARDO, UT EOS PACIFICARET.

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DE ADVENTU NOVÆ REGINÆ IN ANGLIAM.

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DE DISPOSITIONE MAGNATUM IN SOLLEMNITATE DESPONSATIONIS.

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REX TENUIT PARLIAMENTUM SUUM APUD WESTMONASTERIUM.

Die autem Omnium Sanctorum approximante, rex et regina, convocatis episcopo Norwicensi et abbate Sancti Albani et comite de Surria, et aliis non paucis, apud Langeleiam sollemnitatem Omnium Sanctorum cum laude dignissima, ut decuit, celebrarunt; et in crastino, scilicet, die Animarum, venit dominus rex ad Sanctum Albanum, qui unius tantum noctis ibidem moram trahens, et in crastino summo mane, audito divino servitio, nec non Missa de beato martyre Albano sollemniter celebrata,

conventu quoque ornanter redimito, venit cum suis nobilibus ibidem devotius oraturus. Quibus sub martyre prostratis, cantatum est sollempniter speciale canticum de Beati Albini memoria, memoria itineris domini regis subsequente, circumstante vero cum conventu, non modico populo. Factoque inter eos silentio, ipsemet rex exposuit adventus sui causam, dicens, "Idcirco huc veni devotus, a martyre glorioso Albano licentiam et auxilium, a præfenti conventu et populo orationum humiliter petiturus beneficium. Oportet me in Scotiam ire, ut inimicorum nostrorum Scotorum temerariam præsumtionem compescam, fortunæ ignarus penitus et reditus." Cui confestim conceditur ab omnibus et singulis, quousque prospera illius audiatur regressio, Missarum ac orationum specialis et quotidiana devotio ; quibus rex cum suis humiliter regratians, et sic devotior cum fiducia hilariori mox versus Scotiam iter arripuit.

SPECIALIS ORATIO IN CONVENTU.

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II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE "FLORES HISTORIARUM" OF MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER.^m

ANNO gratiæ m.cxciiij. Edwardus rex Angliæ tenuit parliamentum suum apud Westmonasterium post festum Pentecostes ; cui aderant Johannes rex Scotiæ et omnes magnates Angliæ, ubi recitabantur in auditu ibidem existentium motiones et continuationes hujus guerræ, insuper legationes et sponfiones pacis Angliæ reformandæ. In quo etiam unusquisque legatorum domini regis, pro posse suo, manum suam exposuit bona fide ; denique in hoc assentiunt omnes recuperare Vasconiam vi et armis. Tunc rex Scotiæ concessit regi Angliæ per triennium omnes terras suas, quæ sibi jure hereditario competebant in regno Angliæ, in subsidium Vasconiæ adipiscendæ, regno Scotiæ solummodo contentus. Ceterique comites et magnates de facultatibus suis auxilium pollicentur. 1294.

Mense Martio, primo die mensis, rex Eadwardus apud Novum Castrum super Tinam exercitum fortem adunavit, ad Scottorum injuriam expugnandam, proponens eis tria, aut ejus censuræ pati se ultro submittere, aut a terra sua exulare, aut ad campestre bellum se parare. Ipsi vero, præposito salubri consilio, proelium elegerunt. 1295.

Eodem anno Johannes, rex Scotiæ, homagii et fidelitatis suæ immemor, destinatis ad regem Francorum nunciis, Gulielmo Sancti Andree et

^m These extracts are made from the Edition of 1570, corrected by an early manuscript in the Cottonian MS. Nero D, ii.

1295. Gulielmo Dunkeldienfi episcopis, Johanne de Sules et Ingelramo de Umfrevile, militibus, rege Eadwardo tunc existente in Flandria, clam contra regem Angliæ foedus iniit, petens in affirmationem negotii matrimonium contrahi inter filium suum Eadwardum ac nobilem puellam Johannam filiam Charoli, germani regis Francorum, spondens se velle regem Angliæ totis viribus impugnare, et a guerra cum rege Franciæ impedire, sicut in scriptis inter utrosque reges confectis plenius continetur. Per quos, ut in hanc consentirent proditionem, fuit inductus rex Angliæ a rege Scottorum, ignorans proditionem, cum auxilium petisset pro guerra sua instanter, et sibi responderetur in dubium, suspectum habens negotium, rogavit ut ob securitatem usque ad finem guerræ suæ tria castra, videlicet, Berwici, Edinburgiæ, Rokesburgiæ, traderentur in manus suas, quæ post guerram suam restitueret, si eos sibi comperisset fideles. Quod cum Scotti facere renuissent, rex de proditione eorum certior, cum exercitu suo versus Scotiam progressus, disposuit eam vi subicere, nisi ab iis quæ referebantur desisterent, et quæ jam in opere ostendebantur se possint legitime excusare.

1296. Anno gratiæ m.ccxvj. tertio kalendas Aprilis, villa et castro de Berewico per magnificum regem Angliæ Eadwardum captis, omnes ibidem inventos Angli gladio occiderunt, paucis exceptis, qui ipsam villam postmodum abjurarunt. Hominum autem Scottorum promiscui sexus peremptorum sexaginta milia referuntur. Octavo idus Aprilis rex Scottorum Johannes, pro se et Scottis omnibus, tenentibus terram in Anglia quamcunque, homagium debitum regi Angliæ reddidit per scripturam. Rege vero Anglorum apud Berwicum, pro fortificatione fossarumⁿ ac murorum villæ ejusdem morante, Scoti, scilicet domini de Ros, de Meneith,^o et de Afceles,^p comites, et dominus Ricardus Syward, Wilielmus de Sancto Claro, Johannes Comyn filius Johannis Comyn,^q Wilielmus de Moncref,^r et Radulphus frater ejus, barones, et alii quamplures milites, Angliam ingressi, villas de Correbrigge^s et Heclsham^t combufferunt,^u

ⁿ Reparatione et fortificatione fossarum, N.

^o Comitibus de Badenahage, N.

^q Higlicesham, N.

^r Menethet, N.

^s Morraer, N.

^t "Et Prioratum ejusdem," added in N.

^u Hastele, N.

^v Correbrugge, N.

homines, mulieres et parvulos, sine delectu conditionis humanæ, occidendo. Qui regressi in Scotiam una cum domino Roberto de Ketingham,^v quem rex Franciæ illo^w anno cingulo cinxerat militari,^z castrum Patricii, comitis de Dunbar, regis Angliæ constantis amici, tunc temporis cum eodem existentis,^y acriter obsederunt. Ipsi autem in dicto castro custodes, simulata a rege Angliæ implorantes auxilium, interim dictum castrum Scotis in vigilia Sancti Georgii reddiderunt. Quo comperto, rex Angliæ in crastino die duo milia coopertorum equorum, cum .xl. vexillis, et multos pedites, ad prædictum castrum,^z pro oppressione hujusmodi removenda, mandavit. Hoc^a viso, Scotti potentes, comites et barones, remanserunt; ceteri ad quinque milia abierunt retrorsum. Quinto kalendas Maii rex Angliæ cum octingentis equis villam exiens supra dictam, versus castrum de Dumbar festinavit. Quo eodem die mane, obsessi prædicti, cogitantes perspicacius de sua liberatione, dominos Warrennæ et Warewik comites, et Hugonem le Despenfer, et alios de exercitu regis Angliæ majores, rogaverunt ut dominum Robertum de Ketingham prædictum ad regem Scotiæ pro ipsius consilio requirendo possent licite demandare. Pro quibus dominos comitem de Meneteth et Johannem Comyn, filium Johannis Comyn comitis de Badenaw, ipsa petitione primitus obtenta, in nostratum manibus obfides tradiderunt. Qui dominus Robertus eodem die post prandium, cum equitaturis quingentis et quadraginta milibus peditum est regressus. De quibus dominus Robertus et dominus Patricius de Graham, miles strenuus, et filius domini Wilielmi de Sancto Claro, qui vexillum domini regis Scotiæ deferebat, et alii, ad minus decem milia, ceciderunt in bello, equis quater viginti lucratis, ceteris in fugam illico reversis, excepto domino Johanne de Sumervilla, qui tunc temporis captus fuit. Die vero crastino, rege Angliæ

^v Hebe, N.

^w Hanne [?] N.

^z "Et filio domini Ricardi Sywad, militibus, et pluribus aliis viris Scotiæ," added in N.

^y "Una cum filio," added in N.

^a Quod distat a Berewyco per .xx. miliaria, pro oppositione, N.

^b "Instead of this sentence, N. reads,—in cujus progressu rex noster filium comitis Patricii novo cinxit, cingulo militari. Sed Scoti partem exercitus venire videntes, comitibus [et] baronibus supradictis, una cum pluribus aliis militibus et potentibus remanentibus in castro prædicto tam per mare quam per terram per nostros obsessos, in fugam bene ad quinque miliaria retrorsum abierunt."

1296. villam de Dunbar appropinquante prædictam, dicti tres comites et .xxx. ad minus Scottorum milites, regi Angliæ, suæque regiæ voluntati, se et castrum prædictum planctu lacrimabili reddiderunt. Post hæc infulam de Galeway subintrans, fugientibus seu fugatis qui atria custodirent, castra singula viriliter occupavit. Ulterius vero progrediens ad Castrum Puel-larum pervenit, in quo, velut inexpugnabili, ad tutelam generosæ mulieres regni Scotiæ traditæ referuntur. Huic ut appropinquavit rex, disposuit turmas suas ad obsidionem illius; nollentibus vero custodibus illud red-dere, adhibitæ sunt machinæ belli emittentes lapides grandes, domos plu-res et cacumina turrium dissipantes. His exterriti, custodes castrum cum contentis regi Angliæ protinus reddiderunt. Quo in loco, velut in the-saurio principali territorii, insignia regalia regni Scotiæ sunt reperta, quæ apud Westmonasterium in archariis regis sunt recondita et signata. Ex-inde mare Scotticum pertransiens, regem Scotiæ, nomine tantum, de ca-vernis educere anhelavit, villas Sancti Andreæ et Sancti Johannis cum vicinis castellis ditioni propriæ adnectendo. Porro Johannes rex Scotiæ, jam omni destitutus defensione militari, in crastino translationis beati Thomæ martyris, carcerem et vincula evasurus, regi Angliæ se reddidit per scripturam, quam scripturam vide infra, pœne in fine Libri. Et rex Angliæ Johannem Baliol, qui fuit rex Scotiæ, in Turri Londonensi, simi-liter omnes comites et barones Scotiæ bellica vi subactos, in castellis va-riis, carcerali custodiæ subjugavit. Igitur Eadwardus rex Angliæ, per-agratis quibusque Scotiæ infulis, victis villis et castellis, rebellibusque non apparentibus, apud Sanctum Eadmundum primates ac magnates sui regni ad suum parlamentum invitavit in festo sancti Martini.
1297. Quo etiam tempore vastaverunt Scoti finitima regni Angliæ et ma-jorem partem Northumbriæ incenderunt, duce Willelmo Walleys, milite.
1298. Anno gratiæ m.cc.xcvij. accedente rege Angliæ ad Westmonasterium inde proficiens, divertit se ad Eboracum, ducens secum Barones de Scaccario et Justiciarios de Banco, post festum Sanctæ Trinitatis, par-liamentum cum majoribus populi habiturus. Exinde se movens, stipatus

agmine comitum, baronum, et militum copioso, rebelles Scotos debellare curavit. Porro Scotti, tam tonsurati quam laici, in unum cuneum adunati, amplius quam ducenta milia virorum, mori aut pugnare fortiter sunt inventi. Et commissum est bellum terribile in die sanctæ Mariæ Magdalensæ, in campo qui dicitur Faukirke. Et statim disgregatis Scotis, ceciderunt ex eis equites ducenti, pedites vero .xl. milia et amplius, ceteris vero protinus in fugam converfis, pluribus se in flumen demergentibus. Ex Anglis quidem ceciderunt Brianus de Jay, Magister Templariorum in Anglia, et quidem peditum ferme triginta. 1298.

Anno gratiæ m.ccc.j. Sub eodem quoque tempore, ducente rege Angliæ exercitum contra gentem Scottorum, princeps Walliæ Eadwardus, regis filius, cum agmine suo bellicoso progreditur ante eum; sed quia nihil magnificum vel vix laude dignum, nemine Scottorum resistente, peregerant, noſter calamus breviter pertranſeat. 1301.

Rex itaque Angliæ, geſtiens pacem bonam fieri in diebus ſuis, miſit nuncios præclaros circa Paſcha ad regem Franciæ, ut quid de bello et de pace deliberaret, per eodem renunciaret. Qui accepto reſponſo, quod non poſſunt tam ardua tractari negotia, niſi duodecim Pares plenarie congregarentur, quodque tunc non potuit fieri, ipſis procul, propter inopinatas emerſiones novi belli, in locis variis occupatis, ut poſt dies quindecim iſta fierent, expectarent. Quo tranſacto tempore, adunati majores Franciæ, ſe nolle diſſinire de prædictis, reſponderunt Anglis, niſi in præſentia Scottorum confœderatorum ſuorum. Hoc audito, ad Angliam redierunt. 1302.

Anno gratiæ m.ccc.iiij. qui eſt annus regni Eadwardi triceſimus primus, Eadwardus rex Angliæ hoſtilium aggreſſionum magnificus triumphator, ad Scottorum inſolentias reprimendas, fidelitatem ſuam atrociter prævaricantium, cum peremiſſent fideles ſuos, pro tuitione regiæ pacis ibidem tranſmiſſos, alios fauciaſſent, alios ſemivivos ratocinio magno dimiſſent, in vindictam malefactorum et ſuccurſum gentis ſuæ, expeditione militari circa Pentecoſten Scotiam eſt ingreſſus. Poſt reſceſſum 1303.

1303. quidem regis Angliæ a regno Scotiæ, et post plures cædes et incendia, ad ultimum Scoti obsederunt manu hostili castrum regis Angliæ, videlicet Strivelin. Ad quod per regem Angliæ defendendum .lx.^b viri sagittarii duntaxat fuerant deputati, habentes victum parce fatis femenssem. Venerunt ergo magnates Scottorum in multitudine gravi, castrum illud fortiter obsedentes, et contra obsessi viriliter illud defenderunt. Cumque obsedentes castrum præ soliditate et sublimitate ejus, non possent arte, ingenio, tormento, vel quomodolibet deteriorare, statuunt obsessos fame fatigatos et inedia aliquando superare. Quod intelligentes obsessi parcius stauro suo usi sunt. Et tam diu obsessum est castrum donec, consumtis cibariis, necessitate cogente, occisis equis et canibus, ederent carnes ipforum cum sanguine; et quod miserabilius est loquendum, coria ipforum animalium pransi sunt, quodque horribilius est audiendum, mures et murilegos, quos decipulæ ceperant, manducarunt. Consumtis proinde omnibus quæ manducari possunt, dixerunt inter se obsessi, “Ecce, inimici fatagunt nos fame devincere, et relictum est nobis modicum frumenti, et duæ partes unius bovis; sane projiciamus quartam partem stateris de frumento et quartam partem bovis in hostium cuneos, reliquum cras et postridie comedamus et moriamur, si autem nos messe et carnibus abundare, forte ab obsidione recedent.” O laudabilis industria! etsi a Josepho famosissimo quondam Judæorum bellatore inventa. Quod cum fecissent obsessi, ludificati dixerunt obsessores, “Retrocedamus, quia nihil proficiemus; en quos sperabimus fame periisse, in ejectione stauri sui contrarium experimur.” Porro Scotis recedentibus, miserunt mox obsessi unum ex suis ad regem Angliæ pro victualibus et remedio citissime habendo, alioquin castrum nullatenus diutius posse defendere. Sed qui missus fuerat, currens sponte per devium et a tramite bonitatis exorbitans, venit ad exercitum Scottorum, nuncians eis penuriam quam passi sunt obsessi, et qualiter plures ex eis mortui sunt, et consilium dedit sui faciendi propositi. O proditor! fili Rechab! ignoras mercedem quam tibi datus est rex David? quis restitit ei et pacem habuit? quis eum fellit et lucem non luxit? Redierunt igitur Scoti et castrum iterum obsede-

^b lxxvij. edit.

derunt, et obfessi non habentes unde vivere, post triduum castrum reddiderunt domino Johanni de Soules, et salvos pacti sunt Scoti eos ad regem Anglorum abire. Deputatur proinde custodia illius castrum animoso militi, electo de milibus, Wilielmo Olyfard, habenti subtus se trecentos homines bellicosos, in locis variis constitutos, de quibus .cxx. ad defensionem castrum illius secum retinuit. Pro his et aliis multis multifariis injuriis ingressus rex Angliæ Scotiam, ut in chamo et freno maxillas eorum comprimeret, qui non approximantes ad pacem suam eam infregerant, et dolos machinaverant tota die; igitur in manu forti occupavit munitiones et oppida eorum. Et cum appropinquaret castello de Brihyn, quod contra eum erat, ordinavit obsidionem. Defensor autem castrum illius, miles audacissimus animo et corpore, nomine Thomas Maille, non veritus regales acies, confidens in fortitudine murorum denforum, nihil pendebat impugnationes validas machinarum, quoniam cum tormenta valida regis Angliæ jacerent lapides indefinenter contra muros castelli, nec paries cederet, post redundationem lapidum, stetit ille miles Thomas cum manutergio et extruxit læsuram^c de muro in subsannationem et derisum totius exercitus Anglicani. Et cum per .xl. dies^d castellum strenue defendisset, in vigilia Sancti Laurentii, ipso stante juxta propugnacula muri, directo tormento ad eundem Thomam, emissi lapidis ictus partem propugnaculi tetegit, et ex sua vi ultra torrens percussit astantem militem Thomam in pectore, qui quassatus penitus cecidit mox supinus. Cumque adhuc palpitaret, accurrerent servi ejus querendo an adhuc castellum reddere debuissent? Et valedicens^e eis, in maledictionibus suis pro hoc proposito expiravit, et statim post, ipso die, obfessi, omni destituti auxilio, castellum regi Angliæ reddiderunt.

Erant autem in Scotia duæ famosissimæ abbatia, in facultatibus opulentissimæ, et in ædificiis munitissimæ, Aberbredok videlicet, et Dunfermelin. Porro Dunfermelin infra procinctum suum ampla erat nimis, continens tres carrucatas terræ, palatia quasi regia continens in se multa, ita ut tres incliti reges cum eorum sequela, singuli sine alterius improbitate, simul et semel hospitari poterant. Idcirco propter nimiam capaci-

^c Extersit cœsuram [?]

^d xx. edit.

^e Maledicens, edit.

1303. tatem loci soliti fuerant majores natu regni Scotiæ illuc convenire, et machinationes contra regem Anglorum conficere, et plerumque in tempore belli, velut de latibulis prodeuntes, latrocinalem prædam et cædem in populum Anglicum frequentabant. Cernens igitur exercitus regis templum Domini, non ecclesiam, sed speluncam esse latronum, quasi fudem in oculo genti Anglorum, misso funiculo exactiois, antra, muros, palatia, omnia cœquans terræ, funditus dissipavit, ecclesia duntaxat ab incendio reservata, et paucis domibus, monachis regulariter competentibus.
1304. Sub eodem quoque tempore, quo reges solebant ad bella procedere, fortunatissimus rex Anglorum Eadwardus, peragratis quibusque Scotiæ partibus, calcatis victorioso cornibus superbiorum, domitis rebellium fremitibus, deditis ejus arbitrio cunctis nobilioribus regni Scotiæ, ac etiam debellatis, adhuc restabat unum castellum fortissimum expugnandum, videlicet Strivelin; ad quod cum pervenisset rex statim obsidionem disposuit. Defensor autem castri, miles satis magnanimus, dictus Willelmus Olyfard, cernens tam eleganti expeditione, se et suos circumdari, mittit legationem, petens a rege sibi licere magistro suo Johanni de Soules transmittere in Franciam, experiri certe an deberet sponte et sine resistentia regi reddere castellum, vel contra eum quamdiu poterat illud defendere. Cui rex, "Nequaquam; quinimo si salubrius æstimaverit castrum defendere quam illud nobis reddere, ipse viderit." Quo responso recepto, recordatus est Willelmus juramenti quod fecerat magistro suo agenti tunc in Francia cum quibusdam Scotis, gratia defensionis habendæ. Sed quia non aderat auxiliator, neque qui ferret juvamen ad resistendum aciei regiæ, se præparat quantum potest. Æstimabat autem se non regi obnoxium esse si castellum defenderet contra eum, pro eo quod fidelitatem vel homagium nunquam sibi corporaliter præstitisset. Sed quomodo una cum magistro suo terram alterius et castrum regis fraudulenter invaserat, non sane prospexit, aut noluit intelligere, ut bene ageret. Porro rex Angliæ animavit populum suum ad bellum, replicans qualiter post obitum Alexandri regis Scotiæ, comites et barones illum in principalem dominum elegerunt, fidelitatem et homagium sibi dantes, corporali præstito sacra-

1304.
 mento pro se et pro cunctis majoribus et minoribus regni tam præsentibus quam futuris, ut discusso jure singulorum vendicantium coram eo, ille coronam fusciperet, quem ipse judicaverit amplius habere juris ad regnum. Quique præcavescentes sibi in futurum, ut rex Angliæ, et non quasi vocalis eorum et regni, et regis Franciæ dominus, quicquam constitueret, verum etiam ipsum tanquam advocatum dominum et realem possessorem, omnibus castellis, civitatibus, burgis, marescalliis, seneschaliis, ac cunctis aliis proprietatibus quæ ad regnum pertinent, ipsum per dies .xl. pacifice sefisiarunt, ne in vanum current^f, aut in irritum factum proprium revocarent, prout in patenti eorundum instrumento inde confecto plenius continetur. Postmodum electus eorum rex et coronatus contra ligium dominum suum regem Angliæ movens bellum divincitur, et carceri mancipatur. Perentisque .c.m. viris, et amplius, in bello apud Berwicum et Dunbar, insuper captis baronibus, comitibus, et militibus regni Scotiæ et in Anglia incarceratis, ipse conquæstor et monarcha duorum regnorum efficitur lege belli. Denuo demissis illis misericorditer repedare ad natale solum, et iterum bellum suscitantibus, occurrens rex cum armato milite regnum Scotiæ alias in ore gladii adquisivit, occisis in bello juxta Faukirke .lx.m. viris de Scotia. Dixitque rex, "Cum igitur jam tertio rebellionis filios clava potentiæ nostræ bellicose domuerimus, et non sit qui resistat nobis, nisi alter Siba, filius Botrii, commilitones optimi, servate titulos laudis vestræ, ut expugnato nocivo vermiculo honor vester propensius augeatur." Peroraverat ista rex, et legionis vel exercitus probatur assentio. Proinde tenduntur balistæ, eriguntur machinæ, fabricantur tormenta ad lapides jaciendos. Ex adverso autem restabat castrum firmissimum et altum, quia juxta ripam maris super rupem solidissimam extitit fabricatum, ad quod unus introitus, cujus et exitus, deintus vero viri egregii quos desperatio reddidit fortiores. Utrobique pugnatur; subsannant hi in arce inferiorum ictus missilium, impugnationes machinarum retorquentes super Anglos ex alto invisa jacula balistarum et lapides, quibus plurimos fauciarunt et alios necaverunt, et exeuntes aliquando de castello strages in exercitu faciebant. Porro motus super

^f Vacuum, edit.

1304. his rex jubet ut, erectis immensis tormentis, lapides torrentes ad murum et ultra murum continue jaciantur; sed qui contra murum expugnabant aliquando in vanum refiliunt, qui vero ultra murum circumferebantur, ruentes in castrum multum eis nocebant. Nam adeo affidue faces et lapides intra castrum tormentarunt, quousque acervos missis eorum cremarent, cunctaque castris ædificia funditus prosternerent sua mole. In omnibus autem his non est averfus furor maledictus, quia pertinax, non secessit robur obsidentium Anglorum, quia efficax. Erant autem infra castellum in rupe cavernæ et speluncæ concavæ vel cavatæ, et de super murus fortissimus, et in muro arcus et antra, in quibus reconderant victualia, quæ habebant in speluncis ab ictu lapidis delitescentes. Cumque transfissent nonaginta obsidionis dies, nec castellani se redderent, ait rex, "Vivat Dominus! non recedamus hinc quousque debellaverimus eos, aut ipsi nos hinc fugaverint." Cui alius, confortans regem, ait, "Domine mi, fac quæcunque sunt in corde tuo, quia Dominus est tecum!" Et vere Dominus erat secum, admirantissime servans eum coram omni populo, nam cum animaret exercitum suum ad prælium, illeque semper primus, et sæpius, et propius juxta castelli murum accederet, et inermis super dextrarium equitaret, ecce angelus Sathanæ misit in cor hominis Scoti ut mitteret manum in Christum Domini, qui de turre regem advertens, tensa balista, emissum spiculum direxit ad cor regis, sed Angelus Domini ictum frustrat. Audi miraculum; telum diaboli jacitur super Christum Domini, sed O Sathan! sagittisti regem, non mactasti regem; robam regis perforasti, in nihilo carnem lædens. Sed neque jumentum fessoris vales perimere, dum per medium lori avolas, horribilis sibilans. Sellam perforas, nec cutem depilas! Et frequenter in obsidionis continuatione hi in arce in alto in regem inermem spicula crudelissimi tormenti, quod Anglice dicitur "Espringold" jaciunt perimendum, sed, Dei nutu, nec regem nec sonipedem ejus læserunt, de populo quidem plurimos necaverunt. Et cum dissuaderetur ne amplius sic inermis procederet propter avolantium quasi de tenebris spiculorum infortunium, a quibus velut a dæmonio meridiano metueret, respondit, "Cadent a latere meo mille, et decem milia a dextris meis, ad me autem nocendum non appropinquabunt. In nomine Domini suscepimus bellum justum, propterea non

timebimus quid faciat nobis homo, quoniam a dextris nobis est, idcirco minime commovemur.” Altera die cum rex equitaret inermis cominus juxta murum, ex quo timuit omnis Anglorum exercitus, effrænati hostes lapidem miræ magnitudinis submittunt ut regem opprimerent; res stupenda nimis, ex turbine molæ violentissimo, quasi ad ictum tonitru, dextrarius regis refupinatis pedibus corruit, quasi aſina Balaam, dans locum exterminatori. Et accurrentes commilitones traxerunt regem per declivum montis, increpantesque dixerunt, “ Domine, quare proprius ceteris inermis ad murum acceditis, ut præliamini? An ignoras quod multa deſuper ex muro tela mittantur? Quis percuffit Abimelech filium Jeroſaal? Nonne mulier miſit ſuper eum fragmentum molæ de muro, et interfecit eum in Thabes? Manete amodo in papilionibus. Sive enim fugerimus, non magnopere de nobis ad eos pertinebit, ſive media pars de nobis ceciderit non ſatis curabunt, quia ſola perſona veſtra pro decem millibus computatur. Melius eſt igitur ut ſitis aliorum in præſidio.” Quibus rex, “ Vivit Dominus, non dimittam vos, ſive in vitam, ſive in mortem abieritis.” Proinde juſſit rex arietem fabricari, quem Græci^f nicontam vocant, quaſi vincentem omnia, et lupum belli; verum aries indecens et incompoſitus parum aut nihil profuit, lupus autem belli, minus ſuntuoſus incluſiſ plus nocuit. Audi inaudita; immenſa quidem tormenta ictu unius lapidis duos antiparietes de arce in vertice rupis fundatos, quaſi ſagitta per filum advolans, perforavit. Plures autem lapides minorum machinarum denſiores muros impengentes, fruſtratiſ^h obviis lapidibus in muro locum commorabilem quaſi victori vendicabant, in ſignum perpetuæ victoriæ et magni triumphoſi magnificoſi regis indeleta veſtigia relinquentes. Et de regis ſapientia non eſt obmutefcendum. Cum igitur quamplura jacula ipſum a dextris et a ſiniſtris ex obſeſſis circumdarent et incaſſam deciderent, volentes Anglos tela colligere, prohibuit rex, ita fatuſ, “ Parvi pendite et tranſite. In non colligendo ſpicula æſtimabunt, ea uſque nos minime perveniſſe. Si vero ipſa colligeris, animadvertent illa propius accediſſe, et animoſius erga nos tela ſua dirigent.” Proinde obſeſſi videntes alia machinamenta levata ſuperius quam caſtri murale, et tunc præ ti-

^f Hebræi, edit.^h Obſeſſit, edit.^h Fruſtratiſ, edit.

1304. more invisibilium misilium sub divo progredi non audentes, scientesque quoniam consummata sunt omnia quæ infra castellum illud erant ad sustentationem, et castelli et sui infra triduum captionem, majores exercitus regii alloquuntur, pollicentes se castellum reddere, ita quod pœnam proditorum et homicidarum non luerent. Spondent reliqui, quantum in eis foret. Exeuntes igitur de castello singuli, rei mortis, die sanctæ Margaretæ virginis, venerunt ad regem more furum, discincti, discalciati, aspersi cinere capita, funiculos in manibus et in collis perfide gestantes, hujuscemodi se bene meritos ostendentes, gratiam regis petentes. Quibus rex, "Nequaquam ad meam gratiam, quia indigne vos recipiam, sed ad meam voluntatem." Cui rei, "Domine, ad vestram voluntatem nos ipsos submittimus." Quibus rex, "Equidem meæ voluntatis est vos membratim distrahi et suspendi, si quo minus permittam vos salvos in castellum redire." Cui Willelmus Olyfard humi prostratus, cum singulis ait, "O domine rex ! scimus quia major est nostra iniquitas quam ut veniam mereamur ; neque enim fuit familia ista mea, nisi obnoxia domino nostro regi. Verumtamen, rex pietatis, deprecamur ineffabilem clementiam vestram, quam sive consequimur indigni, sive non, habetote nos omnes tanquam mortuos super terram." Cumque ejulatu magno fleret, rex aliis parricidis dicebat, "Quid petitis et vos ?" Et illi gemebundi clamaverunt, "Rei fumus mortis ; ad vestram voluntatem suscipiatis nos, domine." Motus ergo rex super tantis clamore et fletibus, avertit se parumper, sed etiam totus populus circumflans ad lachrymas est compunctus. Proinde jussit rex eos suscipi et in diversis castellis Angliæ singulatim incarcerari, nullum ex eis perimens, nullum damnans. Proditor autem ille prophanus, cujus fraude Scoti illud castrum adquisierant, capitur, caudis equorum trahitur, demum laqueo est suspensus. Et sic cessavit quassatio tanti belli. Porro rex adhuc post redditionem castelli fecit meliorare arietem ; cui alii dixerunt, "Domine, ad quid perditio hæc ? jam castellum redditum est nobis." Respondit rex, "Quod facio nunc non est destructio, sed post me bellantium aut regnantium hostilium castrorum doctrinalis quassatio." Proinde victoriosissimus rex Angliæ Eadwardus, deputatis in castello illo et in cæteris locis Scotiæ viris nobilibus, qui triumphalem pacem suam cunctis indigenis servarent, co-

mitantibus eum comitibus et baronibus Scotiæ, in signum deditiois et 1304.
rebellionis debellatæ, ad Angliam lora direxerunt.

Circa festum assumptionis beatæ Mariæ quidem Scotus dictus Wilhelmus 1305.
Waleis, refuga pietatis, prædo, sacrilegus, incendiarius et homicida, Herode crudelitate immitior, Nerone vesania debacchantior, qui pudenda hominis, quæ Deus cælari voluit, faciens eis perizomata, cum Chanaan maledicto discooperuit, cogens quam plurimos viros ac mulieres Anglicos mixtim charolare nudos et psallere ante se, constitutis a tergo tortoribus cum scorpionibus et aculeis flagellantibus incurvantes et pungentibus ut cederent in directum; qui infantes in cunis vagientes et quosdam pendentes ad ubera evisceravit; qui pueros in scholis et in ecclesiis ad magnum numerum incendio conflagravit; qui dum collegisset exercitum Scottorum in bello de Foukirk contra regem Anglorum, et vidisset quod nequiret resistere tam forti exercitui, ait Scotis, "Ecce adduxi vos ad annulum, charolate (vel tripudiate) vos sicut melius scitis." Et aufugit e prælio, populum suum in occisione gladii derelinquens. Hic vir Belial, post innumera flagitia tandem per ministros regis capitur, et Londinum, volente rege de ipso fieri iudicium, adducitur, ac per nobiliores regni Angliæ, in vigilia sancti Bartholomæi, morte crudelissima sed dignitissima, condemnatur. Primo per plateas Londini ad caudas equinas tractus usque ad patibulum altissimum sibi fabricatum, quo laqueo suspensus, postea semivivus demissus, deinde abscissis genitalibus et evisceratis intestinis, ac in ignem crematis, demum, abscisso capite ac trunco in quatuor partes secto, caput palo super pontem Londinensem affigitur; quadrifida vero membra ad quatuor partes Scotiæ sunt transmissa. Ecce finis immifericordis hominis, quem immifericordia sic finivit!

III.

EXTRACTS FROM THE HARLEIAN MANUSCRIPT 3860, fol. 18, b.¹

DE ARBITRATIONE SCOTTORUM IN REGEM ANGLIÆ.

ANNO gratiæ m.cc. nonagesimo primo, Scoti, post mortem Alexandri regis, compromiserunt in regem Angliæ, tanquam in dominum suum, cui concesserunt, et fecerunt possessionem et fasinam totius terræ Scotiæ, tam in terris quam in castris, usque ad terminum duodecim mensium, donec dictus rex fuerit arbitratus dicti regni jura, quia quot fuerunt proceres tot voluerunt esse reges. His itaque gestis, ordinavit rex ut de regno Scottorum elegerentur quinquaginta arbitratores discreti et legem scientes, quibus electis, associavit eis ex Anglia triginta viros electos, præcipiens eis et universis in fidem sacramenti præstiti, ut Deum habentes præ oculis vota petentium ponderarent, et debito fine clauderent negotium successione prædicti. Dicti arbitratores, omnibus diligenter examinatis [et] discussis, Johanni de Balliolo successione regni Scotiæ adjudicaverunt. Rex vero Angliæ eorum approbando arbitrium eidem Johanni cum omni integritate regnum Scotiæ restituit, salvo sibi homagio suo, et fidelitate pro tempore facienda. Idem Johannes apud Monasterium de Scone factus est rex, more Scottorum; idem rex Scottorum die Sancti Stephani protomartiris [Dec. 26] fecit homagium regi Angliæ apud No-

¹ This extract is of considerable value. It is transcribed from a manuscript written in the reign of Edward the First, by one who possessed minute and accurate information respecting the transactions of the period. From the attention given to Northern affairs in general, and from the fact of this Chronicle having been used by Hemingford, there may be reason to conclude that it is the production of some Monastic Chronicler, who resided in the north of England.

vum Castrum super Tynam anno Domini m.cc. nonagesimo secundo, et rex Angliæ omnia jura integra et illæsa eidem restituit.

QUALITER SCOTTI REBELLAVERUNT CONTRA REGEM ANGLIÆ.

Anno Domini m.cc.xc. quinto, Scoti, homines inquieti, leves et instabiles, contra regem Anglorum rebellare ceperunt credentes excutere jugum debitæ servitutis, et ad eorum auxilium inierunt fœdus cum Philippo Dei gratia rege Francorum. Inito fœdere, mox erexerunt cornua et se ad pugnam paraverunt, et cum Francis et Flandrensibus in furore suo mercatores Anglicos in portu de Berewicke ceciderunt, detruncaverunt, et quosdam morte peremerunt; quod, cum audisset rex Angliæ, admirans ait, “O quanta nequitia; O quanta seditio; quis unquam crederet talia? certe completa est jam eorum malitia, nec est a nobis ulterius expectandum.” Ordinato autem exercitu et numerato .v. milia in equis armatis et peditum electorum .lx^{ta}. milia, dum irent versus castrum de Wercke et quia erat proximum pascha, rex Angliæ noluit fines suos egredi ante peractam solemnitatem.

Sed anno Domini m.cc. nonagesimo .vj^{to}., die Lunæ in hebdomada Paschæ, proceres Scottorum cum exercitu copioso egressi a valle Anandiæ transeuntes aquam de Suelwath per tria loca, incendentes ab Arturhet, et totam patriam quæ dicitur “Foresta Nicolai” usque Karliolum, trucidantes gladio, et perementes quotquot invenire poterant, non parcentes sexui, ordini, vel ætati. Die vero Martis, parabant se ad obsidionem civitatis Karlioli ex opposito pontis de Edene, et fuit in civitate quidam explorator, [qui] audiens Scottos venire, domum accendit, statimque murum ascendit, conclamavit ad Scottos, ut viriliter agerent et confortarentur; qui cum cognosceretur a civibus in clamore suo deprehensus est et morti traditus. Domus itaque per ipsum accensa, vento flante, facta est flamma vorax in universum, [et] combusta est magna pars civitatis. Cucurrerunt ad ignem multi, et pauci ad portas civitatis, mulieres tamen viriliter agentes lapides in hostes jacentes et aquam calidam effudentes, extincto igne, omnes unanimiter se dederunt in hostes. Die quinto Mercurii cum se videntur Scotti non proficere, sed deficere, reliquerunt obsidionem inceptam, et reversi sunt in Vallem Anandiæ, unde digressi sunt.

QUOMODO REX CEPIT BEREWICKE.

Die Mercurii in eadem hebdomada Paschæ, peracta solemnitate paschali reverentia qua deceret, rex Angliæ cum exercitu suo terram inimicorum suorum ingressus est, et in planitie juxta Berewicke, exercitu suo præparato, fecit novos milites; quod cum vidissent marinarii Angliæ [qui] cum navibus bellicis in portu de Berewicke expectabant, insultum fecerunt, et hostes quasdam naves in alto terræ affixas combusserunt. Cumque regi Angliæ, adhuc in campo existente, talia dicerentur, videntibusque cunctis fumum e navibus ascendi, præcepit rex ut tubis canerent, urbemque potenter ingrederentur, ut fecerunt, cedentes hostes hinc inde usque ad mare; ad quorum introitum attoniti Scotti non erat ex eis qui gladium erigeret, vel telam emitteret, sed stabant stupefacti velut homines extra se. Capta itaque urbe, ceciderunt de hostibus plusquam octo milia, et omnes illi qui erant salvi fecerunt sacramentum quod nunquam contra se, vel regnum Angliæ, manum erigerent, portantes arma liberos abire permittit, et mulieres abierunt in pace. Mansit autem rex in eadem urbe diebus .xv. et novum ferit construi fossatum, latitudinis .lxxx^{ta}. pedum, et profunditatis .xl.

REX SCOTTORUM REDDIDIT HOMAGIUM.

Dumque maneret ibidem, misit ad eum rex Scotiæ nuncios, viros religiosos, qui sibi homagium suum traderent, dicens, "Nos volentes erigere fidelitatem et homagium vobis facta, tam a nobis quam ab aliis quibuscunque regni nostri incolis fidelibus nostris, ratione terrarum, quas in regno vestro de vobis tenentur, et etiam ratione menagii, seu retentionis vestræ, nomine nostro ac nomine eorundem omnium et singulorum, vobis reddimus per præsentem;" et fuit illa littera sine data. Recepitque rex homagium resignatum et præcepit ut inrotularetur in rotulis Cancellariæ suæ ad perpetuam rei gestæ memoriam; et factum fit.

SCOTTI COMBUSSEUNT EXTOLDISSAME.

Eodem mense Aprili prædicti comites Scotiæ cum exercitu copioso digressi sunt de Gedewort, concremantem ex orientali parte Tyne, Kokedale, Redesdale, et Northumbriam cum Correbrige, et monasterium de

Hextildiffham, cum tota villa, inaudito facinore, et domum sanctarum monialium de Lamelay incendio horribili concremarunt; in fine illius diei pernoctantes apud Lanercofte. Cumque fuisset eorum voluntas ulterius procedere, noluit ipse Deus, quia affuit eis nuncians ex suis qui diceret quod exercitus regis Angliæ quasi in januis affisteret. Attoniti vero et stupefacti in hoc, cum quasdam domus ejusdem monasterii, non tamen ecclesiam, incendissent, summo mane diei Veneris per medium forestæ Nicholai cum magna præda reverfi sunt.

QUOMODO CONFUSI SUNT SCOTTI APUD DUNBARE.

Eodem tempore cum comes Patricius, qui vulgariter dicitur "Counte de la Marche," potenter fideliterque regi Angliæ militaret, uxor ejus, comitissa, in castro suo de Dunbar manens, dolum et fraudem cogitans, misit nuncium ad Scotos quod omni festinatione ad austrum venirent, promittens se in adventu eorum castrum reddituram. Scotti miserunt tres comites, quatuor barones, .xxx^{ta}. unum milites, cum centum armigeris; et mox in eorum adventu reddidit eis castrum. Quod cum esset eidem regi Angliæ nunciatum, misit ibidem cum comite de Warena mille armatos equites et peditum decem milia, et cum obsedissent castrum infra paucos dies venit exercitus multus a rege Scottorum missus, mille quinquaginta equitantium, et .xl^{ta}. milia peditum, ex opposito de Dunbar, ad bellum per turmas. Quod cum vidissent novi castrenses, ex visione læti effecti, vexilla sua præ propugnaculis castri erexerunt. Tunc comes de Warena, assignatis quibusdam armatis ad obsidionem castri continuandum, ne hostes exirent, ipse cum exercitu residuo animose processit ad hostes Scottorum, directis hinc inde aciebus, absque ulla dilatione mutuo congressi sunt lanceis et gladiis vicissim occurrentes, et, ut Altissimo placuit, mox quasi in primis ictibus terga verterunt Scotti, et insequabantur nostri cedentes et trucidantes quasi spatio .vij. leucarum, fere usque ad forestam de Selekirke; cecideruntque ex eis .x. milia. Regi autem Angliæ in castino venienti reddiderunt castrum, et omnes castrenses, quos invenit rex Angliæ, ipsam et divisim misit ad diversa castella in Anglia sub firma custodia reservandos. Optenta itaque victoria de Dunbar, dissoluta sunt consilia et corda Scottorum, namque universam eorum gloriam

unius proelii casus abraferat. In optinendis residuis nulla se fortunatissimo principi difficultas opposuit, multas urbes et oppida et omne robur Scotiae in potestate sua redegit et vicit. Et profectus est rex ad villam sic dictam "Villa Sancti Johannis," ubi venerunt nuncii regis Scottorum pacem postulantes, quibus secundum suam misericordiam rex Angliae misericorditer agens clementer respondit, quod in .xv. dies rex Scotiae veniret apud Brechin cum suis optimatibus de forma pacis tractituri. Cumque ad diem et locum venerunt, non erat alia pacis forma, nisi quod ipse rex Scotiae resignaret regnum et frangeret Commune Sigillum. Unde ipse rex et sui optimates, inito consilio, regno Scotiae per scriptum renunciavit mera et spontanea voluntate cum omni onere et honore. His itaque gestis et fracto Communi Sigillo regni Scotiae, processit rex Angliae per medium Mureffe, et cum vidisset omnia, reversus est usque Berewicke, ubi Parliamentum suum tenuerat, et in signum regni resignati et conquesti praecipit et Londonias cariari lapidem illum, in quo reges Scottorum solebant poni loco coronationis suae, et super hoc conficiebatur scriptum. Ordinavit rex Angliae in Parlamento suo de Berewicke novum Thesaurarium et novum Cancellarium, et Justiciarios constituit, et praecipit [ut] omnes qui terras aliquantas tenerent de dominio regis vocarentur ad faciendum homagium et fidelitatem, recognescentes se suo dominio ex tunc esse subjectos, et hoc per scripta singulorum in perpetuum regni conquesti memoriam. His gestis, reversus est rex ad partes Anglicanas, et sic in Flandriam in adjutorium Comitis contra regem Francorum, custodia totius regni Scotiae comiti de Warena commissa.

Erat quidam latro publicus, Willelmus Valays nomine, qui multis temporibus exfulaverat. Hic cum esset vagus omnes exfulatos counavit ad se, et factus est quasi princeps eorum, et creverunt in populum multum. Cumque praedictus comes, nil mali suspicans, de Scottiae partes Londonias adivit, praedictus latro cum suo populo perverso omnes Anglicos, quos ultra Mare Scotiae invenire potuerit, in ore gladii concludentes. Ex tunc vero generatio illa perfida et infidelis, tam episcopi quam barones, excepto comite de la Marche, adjuncti sunt praedicto latroni, et omnes Anglicos, quos invenire poterant, trucidabant; omnes religiosos Anglicos de domibus suis extraxerunt, spectaculum ex ipsis facientes, ligatis mani-

E

bus vel pedibus, ne natando evaderent, salire vel præcipitari faciebant, submergione eorum lætantes. Cum ista nunciata fuerunt domino regi Angliæ, quasi accinctu transfretandi in Flandriam, propositum mutare noluit, sed omnem militiam Eboracensis comitatus a Trenta usque in Scotiam, ipsi comiti de Varena assignans, ut Scottorum audaciam festinando reprimeret. Comes de Varena exercitum congregans et ingressus Vallem Anandiæ cum trecentis equitibus armatis et .xl. milibus peditum, cumque pernoctasset apud Louchmaban deinde profecti sunt usque ad villam de Are, juxta Galwadiam, ut ad pacem admitterent Galwasenses; nunciatum est eis quod exercitus Scottorum non distabat ab eis nisi spatio .iiij. leucarum, et illi summo mane castra moventes viderunt exercitum Scottorum. Cumque magnates Scottorum, qui ibi aderant, viderent se esse impares equestribus nostris, licet pedestres nostros in duplo excederent, timuerunt valde sibi, et missis nunciis pacem petierunt, et continuo se dederunt prædicto comiti et domino H. de Percy, nomine regis Angliæ, salvo eis vita et membris, terris et catallis. Hinc nostri procefferunt armati ad Villam de Strevelline, [ubi] præceptum [est] quod omnes essent parati mane ad transeundum pontem de Striveline. Mane autem facto, transferunt pedestres .v. milia, et Walenses plures, cumque omnes essent in campo armati, comes fecit novos milites. Mittebantur interim duos Prædicatores Fratres ad exercitum Scottorum, qui in altera parte montis supra monasterium de Scameschinel cum illo latrone Willemo Valays latitabat, si forte pacem amplectere vellent, quam prætendebant. Ad hoc respondit latro, “ Pro bono pacis non venimus, sed parati sumus ad pugnam ad vindicandum nos et liberandum regnum nostrum.” Cumque talia dicerentur nostris, mox præsumtuosi ascendebant ad eos qui noluerunt sano consilio adquiescere, inter quos adjecit ille Thesaurarius Hugo de Grethincham, homo quidem pomposus et filius mortis, “ Non expedit, domine comes, ulterius protelare negotium, et thesaurum regis nostri in vanum expendere, sed faciamus debitum nostrum.” Motus itaque comes præcepit ut pontem transirent, qui ita erat strictus quod bini equestres vix simul transire potuerunt, nec fuit aptior locus in regno Scotiæ ad concludendum Anglicos in manus Scottorum, et multos in manus paucorum; ubi corruerunt ex parte nostra numero armatorum fere

centum, et peditum quasi .v. milia. Corruit eodem die prædictus Thesaurarius, scilicet, dominus Hugo de Cressingham, in multis ecclesiis beneficatus, nunquam tamen arma spiritualia vel casulam, sed galiam et loriam, in quibus corruit, et qui gladio linguæ suæ multos excoeruit in judiciis multis, gladio tandem perverforum occisus est. Erat enim homo pulcher et graffus, multos enim in hac die seduxit, sed et ipse seductus est, qui erat levis et lubricus, elatus superbia et avaritiæ deditus. Et cum nostri inierunt, ut potuerunt, Senescallus Scotiæ et comes de Levenax, qui prius pacifice ad nostros venerant, cum vidissent nostros corruisse, confestim receperunt ad suos qui latitabant juxta locum qui dicitur Polles, qui nefandæ rei videntes eventum egressi sunt obviam nostris, et multos fugientes peremerunt. Comes vero de Warena citra pontem semper existens, reverso domino Mardecuo^k cum suis, præcepit pontem frangi et comburi, et commissa custodia ejusdem castri de Striveline prædicto domino Marmeduco de Thwenge, comes cum festinatione apud Berewicke est profectus, deinde processit ad filium regis in partes australes Angliæ, et reliquit patriam penitus desolatam. Facta fuit confusio hæc .iij. idus Septembris, [Sept. 11] anno gratiæ m.cc.xc. septimo. Scotti post ista nefanda animati, Anglici juste timentes sibi qui remanserant in Berewicke et in aliis locis, a loco suo abierunt, quia defensorem non habuerunt, et cito post ingressi sunt Scoti Berewicke, sed nostri castrum tenuerunt et viriliter defenderunt illud. Northumbrenses timore perterriti evacuaverunt patriam ab uxoribus et parvulis et bestiis usque ad Novum Castrum. Mox Scotti latenter Northumbriam ingressi sunt et peremerunt multos, et prædas asportaverunt, et erant ingredientiæ et egredientes ad libitum, cumbantes in foresta de Routhebery, nec erat qui exterreret eos. In illo tempore cessavit laus Dei in omnibus monasteriis [et] ecclesiis totius provinciæ; a Novo Castro super Tynam usque Karliolum omnia membra ecclesiastica fugerunt a facie Scottorum. Vacabant itaque Scotti incendiis [et] rapinis a festo Sancti Lucæ [Oct. 18] ad festum Sancti Martini [Nov. 11] et non erat qui impediret. Vastaverunt per medium forestæ de Igneldewde Cumberlande, et Alverdale usque

^k Marmeduco de Twenge.

Derewent, ad Kokermuth, non enim reparcit eorum oculus ordini, sexui vel statui; et omnes ecclesias et Dei sanctuaria pro nihilo reputabant; et supervenit tempestas maxima grandinis, nivis, et fortis gelu infra eandem octobas beati Martini, ita quod multi Scotti fame et frigore perierunt, et sic tempore perterriti ad propria fugierunt.

QUOMODO COMITES PROCESSE-
RUNT AD SCOTIAM.

Rex etiam noster specialiter per litteras suas rogavit comites Angliæ et ceteros magnates, ut sicut suum et totius terræ Anglicanæ honorem diligenter, cum festinatione procederent in Scotiam cum comite de Warena, quem suo loco præfecerat, ut Scottorum audaciam reprimerent et castigaret. Comites et barones in unum convenientes statuerunt, ut apud Novum Castrum super Tynam omnis populus numeraretur expeditus ad pugnam, et sic continuo procederetur in hostes. Venientes ergo ibidem numeraverunt populum universon, et inventa sunt duo milia equorum armatorum cum affessoribus electis, et aliorum equitantium plus quam mille ducenti, peditum cum Valensibus plus quam centum millia. Procefferunt continuo usque ad confinia regionum et singulis diebus augebatur eorum numerus in pedestribus et in equis. Cumque sensissent¹ Scotti adventum eorum fugerunt, [et] ingressi sunt nostri terram Scotiæ apud Rockesburge consolantes obfessos; deinde digressi sunt usque Kelfow, unde revertentes ad Berewicke super Thwedam invenerunt eam vacuum, eo quod fugerant Scotti, audito eorum ingressu in terram. Manserunt in eadem villa de Berewicke expectantes regis mandatum, prout receperunt in mandatis, semper suis hostibus ad resistendum parati.

QUOMODO REX FESTINAVIT CUM EXERCITU CONTRA SCOTTOS.

Anno Domini m.cc. nonagesimo octavo, postquam reversus est rex a Flandria, statuit Parliamentum suum apud Eboracum in festo Pentecostes, præmisitque litteras suas ad magnates Scotiæ, ut si in fidelitate sua, in qua eos dimiserat, adhuc persistendo manerent, in eodem Parlamento modis omnibus se absque ulla excusatione præsentarent; alioquin, omni

¹ MS. *sensissent*.

abnegatione postposita, eos velut hostes publicos cenferet hostiliter et cum omni festinatione expetendos. Cumque non venirent nec mitterent, ordinavit rex quod omnes fideles in crastino Natalis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ apud Rokesburg, cum equis et armis convenirent, quo die omnes convenerunt, et numeratus est regis exercitus cum comitibus suis tria milia electorum in equis armatis, in equis non armatis qui numerabantur plus quam quatuor milia. De exercitu autem pedestri non curavit rex illa vice; numerati sunt pedestres qui aderant octoginta milia, præter eos qui venerunt de Wasgonia.

Quo factò et omnibus ad expeditionem belli præparatis, procefferunt turmatim per modicas dietas, vastantes et incendentes universa. Ecce duos comites, Patricius et ille de Anegos, die proxima ante festum Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenaë, ad episcopum Dunelmensem venientes, qui statuerunt puerum exploratorem coram rege qui diceret, "Salve, rex," et rex ad eum, "Salve fis." Et intulit, "Domine mi, rex, exercitus Scottorum et omnes hostes tui non distant a te nisi per sex leucas modicas juxta Fauckirke in foresta de Celcirke," et audito hoc ait rex, "Vivit Dominus, qui usque jam eruit me ab omni angustia, quia non erit necesse ut sequantur, quoniam procedam eis in obviam in die hac." Statimque præcepit ut armarentur omnes, nec tamen diceretur quo procedere vellet; ipse rex armatus præ ceteris ascendit in equum, et exhortabat alios ad arma capienda, et ore proprio loquebatur ad eos ut eum sequerentur, nec expavescerent. Omnibus itaque præparatis, processit rex hora tertia a loco illo de Tempellyfton dirigens gressus suos versus locum nominatum de Faukirke; cumque venissent in mora citra Linlithcow pernoctaverunt ibidem et requiescebant in terra, componentes scuta pro cervicalibus et pro lectualibus arma, equi nil gustabant nisi ferrum. In aurora diei transferunt villam de Linlithcow et cum levassent oculos ad Deum, in supercilio cujusdam montis fixerunt tentorium, et audientes missam de Beata Maria Magdalena. Missa celebrata, viderunt nostri Scottos a remotis bella construere, et ordinare se ad pugnam. Statuerunt enim Scotti omnem plebem suam per turmas .iiij.^{or}, in modum circulorum in campo duro juxta Fauchirke, et ait rex, "Equitemus in nomine Domini, quoniam campus noster est et victoria nostra;" dicens in nomine

Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Moxque venientibus nostris fugerunt Scottorum equestres absque gladii ictu, paucis tamen remanentibus; nostri se dederunt ad Scottos lanciarios, qui in circulis sedebant cum lanceis obliquatis in modum silvæ condensæ; et ad sagittarios et ad omnes alios vastantes. Corrueruntque ex Scottis in die illa (præter submeros multos, quorum nescitur numerus,) sed in campo numerantur quinquaginta milia peditum interfectorum, et capti erant Scoti alii tam equestres quam pedestres ad numerum infinitum. Salvavitque Dominus nostros, ne cecidit homo valoris in omni prælio, nisi solus Magister militiæ Templi, qui, insequendo fugientes in quodam lacu, interemptus est et occisus.

DAT REX TERRAS SCOTTORUM MAGNATIBUS SUIS.

Obtenta victoria, processit rex usque ad Sanctum Andream et Perte, cum Villa Sancti Johannis, vastans omnia, nec erat qui resisteret, rediens per Selckirke, capiens castellum de Are et de Loumaban. Et quia ipse terras dedit, inconsultis quibusdam comitibus suis et baronibus, admirati sunt, eo quod promiserat se nil sine ipsis facturum, et ab eo recesserunt quasi erant moti, in partes Anglicanas, et cito post dissentio orta est inter regem et comites propter Magnam Chartam; sed anno Domini m.cc. nonogesimo nono, in festo translationis Beati Thomæ martyris, apud Cantuariam pax inter eos reformatur.

Anno Domini m. trecentesimo, congregato exercitu suo, profectus est in Scotiam, et statim reversus est, et ab illo tempore ab invicem inierunt treugas usque ad festum Sancti Andree in hieme.

Anno Domini m.ccc. secundo, dominus rex Angliæ in anno sequenti, scilicet, in festivitate Sancti Michaelis, tenuit Parliamentum suum apud London, et in eodem Parlamento captæ sunt treugæ inter reges Angliæ et Franciæ usque ad diem paschæ, anno Domini m.ccc. tertio, a quo tempore paschali majores de Scotia fecerunt exercitum suum tam magnum, quod nunquam talis exercitus hominum et equorum videbatur in illa terra, et hoc contra regem Angliæ; et dominus rex Angliæ a die dominica proxima post festum sancti Johannis de Beverlaco, fecit moram apud Berewicke et Rockesburge, expectando comites et barones Anglicanos cum populo Anglicano usque ad festum Pentecostes proximo sequens.

Quibus congregatis, profectus est rex cum exercitu suo per regiam viam usque ad aquam, quæ dicitur Mare Scottorum, et in illa aqua habuit rex unam pontem mirabiliter ex conjunctione navium constructam, et ex opposit[o] navium pontalium jacuit exercitus Scottorum, et dominus rex dimisit suum exercitum, et ipse rex cum suo exercitu pontem transivit; hoc videntes Scoti fugam inierunt, et debiles, qui fugere non potuerunt, erant interfecti. Deinde rex tenuit suum iter versus Dunfermelin.^m

^m The Manuscript ends here, no continuation having been appended. A list of the reigns of the kings on the margin of a former folio concludes with these words, written in the same hand as the Chronicle,

Henr fil ej^o lvij añ. xix jurs.

Edward fil ej^o

thus proving that it was compiled during the reign of Edward the First. The prior portion, occupied with the early history of Britain, appears to have been framed for the purpose of showing the dependance of Scotland upon England.

IV.

EXTRACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF WALTER DE HEMINGFORD.^a

SCOTI INSURREXERUNT CONTRA REGEM, ET QUO MODO.

MENSE Mayo ejusdem anni, gens Scotorum perfida rebellare coepit hoc modo. Comes de Warena, cui rex noster curam et custodiam totius regni Scotiae vice sua et nomine commiserat, corruptionem aeris causans, dixit, se ibi non posse manere cum sanitate; mansitque in Anglia, in parte tamen aquilonis, et hostes exultantes segniter profecutus est, quod fuit nobis in posterum fons et origo mali. Thesaurarius etiam regis, dominus Hugo de Cressingham, homo pomposus et elatus, valde pecuniam dilexit,^o et murum lapideum, quem ipse dominus rex super novum fossatum apud Berewyk construi praeeperat, non construxit; quod nostris evenit in scandalum, ut patebit inferius. Justiciarius vero regis, dominus Willelmus de Ormesby, praeeptum regis prosequens, omnes, qui regi Angliae fidelitatem facere noluerant, absque personarum distinctione exulabat. Eratque quidam latro publicus, Willelmus Walays nomine, qui

1297.

^a These extracts, taken from Hearne's edition of Hemingford's History of the reign of Edward the First, have been collated with and corrected by the Lansdowne MS. 239, which is unfortunately imperfect. Since the work abounds in authentic information respecting Scottish History, it is to be regretted that there is no edition excepting that of Hearne, which is of rare occurrence, and which might be rendered more valuable by the collation of manuscripts to which that Editor had not access.

^o Cressingham enjoyed considerable preferment in the church; the frequent occurrence of his name in the lists of clergy, published by Prynne, gives that caustic individual the pleasure of lashing him as "a pluralist,"—"an insatiable pluralist,"—"an incorrigible pluralist." A document, which will be found in the Appendix, has reference to preferment held by Cressingham in Scotland, and resigned by him, as we may apprehend, to secure something better.

multis temporibus exfulaverat. Hic, cum esset vagus et profugus, omnes exfulantes convocavit ad se, et factus est quasi princeps eorum, et creverunt in populum multum. Huic etiam affociatus est ille miles Willelmus Douglas, qui in captione castri de Berewyk se cum suis regi nostro dederat, salva sibi vita et membris, ut supra dictum est. Quem cum rex ad omnia restituisset, factus est bonorum immemor, latro latroni sociatus, liberatorem suum, saltem in subditis, persecutus est in mortem.

Cumque prædicti comes et Thesaurarius ad partes perrexissent australes, ut Parlamento regis interesse possent, quod in Festo Sancti Petri ad Vincula Londoniis tenebatur, nihil mali suspicantes in Scotis, ecce, prædicti domini Willelmi^p cum populo perverso venientes, credebant, se invenire posse Justiciarium regis nostri prædictum apud Scone, ubi placitaverat, et ut eum perimerent festinabant; ipse tamen præmonitus cum difficultate evasit, relinquens hostibus spolia multa. Quibus collectis, jam non in occulto, ut prius, sed palam procefferunt, concludentes in ore gladii omnes Anglicos, quos ultra Mare Scotiæ invenire potuerunt, divergentes se postea ad obsidionem castrorum.

Interim, dum talia gererentur, Karliolensis episcopus et ceteri viri, qui cum eo erant in præsidio civitatis ejusdem et castri, timentes de infidelitate et inconstantia domini Roberti de Bruys, junioris, comitis de Karrik, miserunt, vocantes eum, ut certo die veniret, tractaturus cum eis de negotiis regis, si tamen in fide ipsius regis perseverando maneret. Qui mandatis resistere non audens, venit ad ipsum diem cum ipso populo Galewalliæ, et super Sacrosancta Mysteria juravit, et super Gladium Sancti Thomæ juramentum præstitit, quod regi nostro et suis contra Scotos, et omnes inimicos suos, fideliter assisteret in consiliis et auxiliis, damnaque sua impediret in quantum se possent sua facultas extendere; factoque juramento, reversus in locum suum, et congregato populo, ut colorem fingeret, processit in terras prædicti Willelmi Douglas, et partem earum combussit igni, et uxorem ejus et parvulos secum adduxit in Vallem Anandiæ.

Cito tamen post, dum a conspiratione Scotorum reverteretur ad propria, convocatis militibus patris sui de terra Vallis Anandiæ, nam pater

^p William Wallace, and William Douglas.

ipfius in australibus partibus Angliæ moram faciebat, hujus fraudis nefcius, dixit eis, “ Chariffimi mei, fcitis, et verum est, quod nuper apud Karliel juramentum præfitti, de quo fcitis et audiftis, ftultum quidem et vi extortum. Nam timore ductus hoc feci corpore, fed non mente, unde contriftor et pœniteo valde. Spero tamen, me abfolutionis beneficium confecuturum in brevi. Verum, quia carnem fuam nemo unquam odio habuit, nec ego habeo, oportet ut vadam ad populum meum, et nationi meæ adjungar, ex qua procreatus⁹ fum. Rogo autem vos, ut illud idem facientes placeat vobis venire mecum, eritifque mihi confiliarii et amici chariffimi.” Cumque differrent refponfionem in craftinum, eadem nocte latenter recefferunt, potius eligentes damna quantumcunque magna ad tempus fufcinere, quam fidelitatem regi noftro factam, cum nota infamiæ infringere.

Ipfè vero aspirans ad regnum, ficut publice dicebatur, adjunctus eft ad populum perverfum, et cum epifcopo Glafguenfi et Senefcallo Scotiæ, qui totius mali fabricatores exftiterant, confœderatus eft. Extunc vero generatio illa perfida et infideles Scoti omnes Anglicos, quos invenire poterant, trucidabant. Religiofos etiam viros Anglicos e domibus fuis, in quibus profefsi fuerant, violenter extraxerunt, ex ipfis fpectaculum facientes; erat enim ludus eorum, et ad fpectaculum cum eis vacabant. Ad pontes namque aquarum multarum fedentes fenef Anglicos, religiofos, et feminas, quos fpecialiter refervabant ad hoc, ligatis manibus vel pedibus, ne forte natando evaderent, ex ipfis pontibus vel falire, vel præcipitari, faciebant, in interitu eorum et fubmerfione lætantes. Inter quos adducti funt duo Canonici de domo Sancti Andreæ in Scotia, qui cum ad pontem villæ, nominatæ Sancti Johannis, coram illo latrone Willelmo Walays ftarent, quafi præ tribunali, mortem exfpectantes, fubito falvavit eos Deus fic. Venerunt enim nuncii cum feftinatione maxima ex parte quorundam magnatorum regni Scotiæ, in quorum adventu præpeditus ille latro, præcepit, ut in falva cuftodia ponerentur. Qui poftea a cuftodibus fuis

⁹ Hemingford's narrative here places Bruce in an exceedingly difadvantageous light, and it muft be admitted that his early career was marked by much indecision. The large property which he held in England, together with the difunited ftate of parties in Scotland, proved a ftumbling-block in his path. It muft not be forgotten that by defcent he was an Englifhman, and probably fo by affection as well as interest.

per quosdam amicorum redempti sunt, dato precio et præfato juramento, quod a regno festinatione egressi, nunquam illud iterum ingrederentur, quorum unus mansit apud nos per tempus aliquod, et periculum suum ore proprio enarravit. Retulit etiam nobis, quod tres Anglici, qui in eadem villa Sancti Andree in Scotia mansionem fuceperant, cum a facie illius Willelmi Walays et fuorum fugissent, in lapidem, illum scilicet, qui dicitur Petra vel Acus Sancti Andree, credentes se posse^r lapidis immunitate muniri, cum sancta mater ecclesia privilegium perdidisset, a Scotis infecuti sunt, et in eodem lapide interfecti.

QUIDAM SCOTORUM DEDERUNT SE NOSTRIS APUD IREWYNE.

Cum ad audientiam regis nostri talia pervenissent, de facili fidem non adhibuit, sed, misso Dunolmensi episcopo, præcepit super hoc veritatem inquiri. Qui festinando convolans, invenit multitudinem Scotorum conglobatam, cui resistere non audebat, et reversus ad regem, omnia per ordinem nunciavit. Rex vero in Flandriam quasi accinctus ad iter, transfretandi propositum mutare noluit, sed omnem militiam Eboracensis comitatus a Trenta usque in Scotiam ipsi comiti de Warena assignans, præcepit, ut Scotorum audaciam festinando reprimeret, et auctores mali debita justitia castigaret. Remisit etiam in terram Scotiæ ambos illos comites, Johannem de Badenaughe et Johannem de Bughan, præcipientis eis in fide sua, ut tumultum populi sedarent, et manerent in fidelitate promissa. Quorum ille de Bughane colorem primo simulans, coepit reprimere quorundam audaciam, sed tamen in fine factus est nobis de converso perversus. Alter vero de Badenaughe, fuorum animos mutare non valens, mansit cum nostris, saltem corpore, nescio tamen utrum fide.

Comes vero de Warena, de comitatu Eboracensi exercitum congregans, præmisit interim ante se cognatum suum, dominum Henricum de Percy, qui, congregato exercitu comitatus Carliolensis, Vallem Anandiae ingressus est cum trecentis armatis, et quadraginta milibus peditum electorum, circa festum beati Laurentii martyris [Aug. 10.] Cumque pernoctassent nostri apud Lohmaban, non timentes sibi in aliquo, ecce,

^r Instead of "posse," Hearne's text reads "post se."

incolæ ejusdem patriæ, eos exterrere volentes, quasi nocte media conclamabant, non quidem Philistini, sed Scoti super vos. At illi currentes ad arma, mox unusquisque domum, in qua manserat, accendit igni, et conglobati continuo recefferunt cum lumine, profectique sunt inde per modicas dietas usque villam de Are juxta Galewalianam, ut ad pacem admitterent Galwalienfes. Cumque non venissent nisi pauci equestres, nunciatum est eis post triduum, quod Scotorum exercitus non distabat ab eis nisi spatio leucarum quatuor. At illi fummo mane castra moventes, egressi sunt in campum juxta Irewyne, ordinantes exercitum et ad bellum se parantes, eratque Scotorum exercitus ex parte altera cujusdam laci modici, et mutuo se videbant.

Cumque magnates Scottorum, qui ibi aderant, episcopus scilicet Glasguensis, Senescallus Scotiæ, et Willelmus Douglas, viderent se esse impares equestribus nostris, licet pedestres nostros in duplo excederent, timuerunt sibi, et, missis nunciis ad nostros, petierunt, utrum esset ibi aliquis ex parte regis Angliæ, qui eos ad pacem recipere posset? Et responso, quod sic, confestim ad eos venit strenuus ille miles Ricardus Lundy, qui nunquam regi nostro fidelitatem fecerat, et se cum suis dedit voluntati regis nostri, dicens, se nolle ulterius cum discordantibus et variantibus militare. Quod cum vidissent alii magnates nominati, consternati sunt, et continuo se dederunt prædicto domino Henrico de Percy, nomine regis nostri, salvis eis vita et membris, terris et catallis, et quod condonarentur omnia usque ad eundem diem, promissis obsidibus et instrumentis confectis, et conditionaliter admissi sunt, si talia regi complacerent. Cumque reverterentur nostri apud Irewyne, nunciatum est eis, quod multi ex Scotis et Galewalensibus eorum farcinulas hostiliter deprædati sunt, interfectis plusquam quingentis viris cum mulieribus et parvulis; quos insequentes, peremerunt ex eis circiter mille viros, et reverfi sunt multiplicata præda.

QUOMODO DECEPTI SUNT NOSTRI ET DEVICTI APUD STRYVELYNE.

Adveniente apud Berewikum comite de Warena, ei per ordinem prædicta nunciantur, et missis ad regem nunciis, voluntatem ipsius expetit; qui existens in procinctu itineris, ut dictum est, noluit impediri, sed

pro bono pacis postulata concessit; factoque ad diem certum hujus responso, adhuc differebant Scoti in cordibus suis, differentes obfides, quos promiserant, et postulantes omnia jura sua et antiquas consuetudines, sicut a rege Scotorum antiquitus tenere consueverant. Quæ cum adhuc essent quasi sub certa spe concedendo promissa, iterum et iterum multiplicantur dies, et variantia semper et frivola ingerebantur, eo quod ille latro Willelmus Walays interim populum adjuvabat. Ad ultimum vero, cum nostri proponerent equitare super eos, timebant sibi magnates Scotorum, et imposuerunt culpam prædicto domino Willelmo Douglas et episcopo Glasgouensi, qui notam criminis impositi excusare volentes, sponte dederunt se, primo ille Willelmus, et paulo post ipse dominus episcopus; et traditus est episcopus sub custodia custodis castri de Rokesburghe vice et nomine regis nostri. Ipse vero Willelmus in castro de Berewyk positus est, retentus, et salvo custoditus.

Quod cum audisset ille latro Willelmus Walays, iratus animo, perrexit ad domum episcopi, et omnem ejus suppellectilem, arma et equos, filios etiam episcopi, nepotum nomine nuncupatos, secum adduxit, et cinctus est immenso Scotorum numero, eo quod communitas terræ sequebatur eum, tanquam ducem et principem. Tota etiam familia magnatorum adhærebat ei, et licet ipsi magnates cum rege nostro essent corpore, cor tamen eorum longe erat ab eo. Nostri vero sic irritati, cum nollent talia ulterius sustinere, processerunt armati ad villam de Strivelyn, ubi Senescallus Scotiæ, et comes de Levenax, et quidam alii magnatorum Scotiæ venientes, rogaverunt nostros, ut adhuc sustinerent per modicum, si forte suos et populum Scotorum pacificare possent quoquo modo. Quod cum eis essent concessum, iterato venientes, quarto scilicet idus Septembris, [Sept. 10] responderunt præcise, quod eos justificare non poterant, promittentes tamen, quod ad auxilium nostrorum venirent die crastina cum sexaginta equis armatis. Credideruntque eis, et dimiserunt eos. In recessu autem eorum in vespere, cum quibusdam ex nostris, a foragio revertentibus, obviasent, insultum fecit in eos ille comes de Levenax, et collum unius peditis perforavit gladio. Quod cum in exercitu nostro nunciatum esset, mox cucurrerunt ad arma, et vulneratum sanguinolentum comiti de Warena præsentarunt, petentes vindictam fieri, et ipsa nocte concla-

mentes et dicentes feditionem fieri, et fidem fractam esse. Ad hoc comes, “Sustinete,” inquit, “nocte hac, ut, si in crastinum promissa non compleverunt, majorem etiam in hoc facto ultionem expetamus.” Præcepit tamen, ut omnes essent parati in crastinum ad transeundum pontem de Strivelyn.

Mane autem facto, transferunt pontem pedestres nostri plusquam quinque millia et Wallenses plures, iterumque revertebantur, eo quod comes noster, somno depressus, in campum non exisset. Cumque post magnam horam surrexisset a somno, essentque omnes in campo armati, fecit ibidem novos milites, quorum quidam eadem die corruerunt. Interimque transferunt pedestres nostri, et iterato reversi sunt, eo quod Senescallus Scotiæ veniebat cum paucis quidem, et non cum sexaginta armatis, ut convenerat, credebantque nostri ipsos fore bajulos boni nuncii, sed excusaverunt se et in facto prædicto, et quod gentem propriam justificare non possent, dicentes, se non posse ab eis eripere nec equos nec arma. Mittebantur etiam interim duos Fratres Prædicatores ad exercitum Scotorum, qui in altera parte montis supra monasterium Skambkynel* cum illo latrone Willelmo Walays latitabat, si forte pacem amplecti vellent, quam tendebant. At ille latro, “Renunciate,” inquit, “vestris, quod pro bono pacis non venimus, sed parati sumus ad pugnam, ad vindicandum scilicet et liberandum regnum nostrum. Ascendant ergo cum voluerint, et nos paratos invenient etiam in barbas eorum.” Erant autem, ut dicebatur, centum octoginta equestres, et quadraginta milia peditum.

Cumque talia dicerentur nostris, mox præsumtuosi dicebant, “Ascendamus ad eos, minæ enim sunt.” Sapientiores vero subjunxerunt, “Non ascendamus adhuc, sed provide deliberemus, quid nobis consilium fuerit faciendum.” Ad hæc strenuus ille miles Ricardus Lundy, qui se nostris dederat apud Irewyn, “Domini mei, si ascenderimus pontem, mortui sumus; non enim transire poterimus, nisi bini et bini, et hostes nostri a latere sunt, descenduntque super nos, cum voluerint, omnes in una fronte. Sed est quoddam vadum non longe abhinc, ubi transire poterimus sexaginta simul in una vice. Nunc ergo tradantur mihi quin-

* Cambuskenneth.

genti equestres, et modica pars peditum, girabimusque hostes a tergo, et debellabimus eos; interimque vos, domine comes, et ceteri, qui vobiscum sunt, pontem transibitis valde securi." Noluerunt autem fano adquiescere consilio, dicentes, non esse securum se in partes dividere. Erant tamen quasi mille equestres, et quinquaginta milia peditum universonum, præter populum, quem dominus Henricus de Percy de comitatibus Karlioli et Lancastriæ congregaverat, numeratum ad trecentos equites et octoginta milia peditum electorum, qui cum esset in veniendo cum suis versus Strivelyn, modicum ante recepit in mandatis a domino Hugone de Cressingham, Thesaurario regis, ut eundem populum cum gratiarum actione remitteret, dicens, exercitum, quem habebant, sufficere posse, nec expedire ipsos vexare in vanum, vel regis ærarium consumere plus, quam necesse erat. Fecitque sic, et indignatus est populus valde, volens eum quasi lapidare.

Variis itaque varia censentibus, conclamabant quidam, ut pontem transcenderent, alii converso, non. Inter quos adjecit ille Thesaurarius regis, homo quidem pomposus et filius mortis, "Non expedit, domine comes, ulterius protelare negotium, et thesaurum regis nostri in vanum expendere, sed ascendamus, et faciamus debitum nostrum, ut tenemur astricti." Motus itaque comes in verbis istis, præcepit, ut pontem ascenderent ut transirent. Mirum dictu, sed terribile quid in eventu, quod tot et tanti discreti viri, dum scirent hostes in promptu, strictum pontem ascenderent, quem bini equestres vix et cum difficultate simul transire potuerunt. Quoniam, ut dicebant quidam, qui in eodem conflictu fuerant, si a summo mane usque ad horam undecimam absque ulla interruptione vel impedimento transissent, adhuc extrema pars exercitus in parte magna remanisset. Nec fuit aptior locus in regno Scotiæ ad concludendum Anglicos in manus Scotorum, et multos in manus paucorum.

Transierunt itaque vexillarii regis et comitis, et inter primos strenuissimus ille miles dominus Marmeducus de Tweng. Cumque vidissent hostes tot jam evenisse, quot superare potuerant, ut credebant, mox descenderunt de monte, et, missis viris lanceariis, occupaverunt pedem pontis, ita quod extunc nulli patebat transitus vel regressus, sed in revertendo, sicut et in festinando, super pontem præcipitati sunt multi et sub-

merfi. Descendentibus itaque Scotis de monte, dixit dominus Marmaducus confociis suis, "Estné tempus, fratres, ut equitemus ad eos?" Quibus respondentibus, quod sic, mox stimulatís equis mutuo congressi sunt, et corruentibus quibusdam ex Scotis, ceteri equestres quasi omnes in fugam versi sunt. Quos cum insequerentur fugientes sic, dixit unus ex nostris domino Marmeduco, "Domine mi, decepti sumus. Non enim sequuntur nostri, et vexilla regis et comitis non comparent." Ad hæc respicientes retro, viderunt multos ex nostris et vexillarios regis et comitis corruisse, dixeruntque, "Præclusa est jam nobis via ad pontem, et a populo nostro intercepti sumus; melius est ergo, ut credamus nos aquæ periculo, si forte transire possimus, quam hostium cuneos penetrantes, quasi pro nihilo corruamus. Difficilis, immo impossibilis, jam factus est nobis transitus per medium Scotorum." Ad hæc ille strenuissimus Marmeducus, "Certe, charissimi, nunquam dicetur de me, quod gratis me submerferim. Absit et hoc a vobis, sed sequimini me, et per medium eorum vobis viam faciam usque ad pontem." Stimulatoque dextrario, mox irruit in hostes, et nunc hos, nunc illos cædens gladio, per medium transiit illæsus, patuitque via magna sequentibus eum. Erat enim fortis robore, et staturæ proceræ. Cumque ita strenue militaret, nepos illius vulneratus et attonitus, equo suo interfecto, sed stans tantum pedes, clamavit ad eum, "Domine mi, salva me." At ille, "Ascende," inquit, "post me." Qui ait, "Non possum; defecit enim robur meum." Moxque confocius ejus, armiger ejusdem domini Marmeduci, descendens de equo suo, eum ascendere fecit, et dixit domino suo, "Sequar te, domine, quocumque ieris," et secutus est eum usque ad pontem, et uterque eorum salvatus est.

Apprehenso itaque ponte per fortitudinem strenue militantis, omnes extunc, quotquot ibi remanserant, corruerunt, numero armatorum fere centum, et peditum quasi quinque milia, inter quos trecenti Wallenses, cum multos vita privaverant, tandem quidam ex eis, qui remanserant, aquam natando transierunt. Unus etiam miles ex nostris cum difficultate aquam transiit in equo armato. Corruit eodem die inter Scotos lancianos prænominatus ille Thesaurarius domini regis, dominus Hugo de Cressyngham, rector ecclesiæ de Ruddeby, et Capitalis Justiciarius in Af-

fifis Eboracum, qui cum esset præbendarius in multis ecclesiis, et multarum haberet curam animarum, nunquam tamen arma spiritualia vel casulam induit, sed galeam et loricam, in quibus corruit. Et qui gladio linguæ suæ multos olim exterruerat in judiciis multis, gladio tandem perverforum occisus est; quem excoriantes Scoti, diviserunt inter se pellem ipsius in modicas partes, non quidem ad reliquias, sed in contumelias. Erat enim pulcher et grossus nimis, vocaveruntque eum non Thesaurarium, sed Trayturarium regis, et verius hoc quam credebant; multos enim seduxit in die hac, sed et ipse seductus est, qui erat levis et lubricus, elatus superbia et avaritiæ deditus.

In primo congressu nostrorum cum Scotis, Senescallus Scotiæ et comes de Levenax, qui prius pacifice venerant, cum vidissent nostros corruisse, confestim recesserunt ad suos, qui in silvis latitabant juxta colles; qui nefandæ rei videntes eventum, egressi sunt obviam nostris, et multos particulariter fugientes peremerunt ibidem, ad colles asportantes spolia multa, et quadrigas onustas abducentes. Non enim poterant quadrigæ vel sumarii a fugientibus abduci de facili in lacubus et mariscis. Comes vero noster, citra pontem semper existens, reverso domino Marmeduco cum suis, præcepit pontem frangi et comburi, et commissa custodia ejusdem castris de Strivelyn prædicto domino Marmeduco, promisit ei fideliter data fide, quod infra primas decem hebdomadas veniret in ejus auxilium cum manu forti. Non tamen adimplevit quod promisit, oblitusque fenectutis suæ, profectus est apud Berewyk cum festinatione tanta, quod dextrarius, in quo federat, in stabulo Fratrum Minorum positus, nunquam pabulum gustavit. Deinde processit ad filium regis in partes australes, et reliquit patriam penitus desolatam. Facta fuit confusio hæc tertio idus Septembris, [Sept. 11] scilicet feria quarta, anno gratiæ supradictæ.

SCOTI VASTAVERUNT QUASI TRES COMITATUS.

Post ista nefanda principia, animati sunt Scoti, et corda nostrorum confusa sunt, Anglicique nostri, qui remanserant in Berewyk, juste timentes sibi, abierunt a loco suo, eo quod principem non haberent seu defensore, et cito post ingressi sunt eam Scoti, invenientes eam vacuum, et quasi scopis mundatam. Castrum tamen retinuerunt nostri, et defenderunt

illud. Northumbrenses etiam timore perterriti, evacuerunt patriam ab uxoribus, et parvulis, et omni suppellectili, mittentes cum eis animalia usque Novum Castrum et sparsim per provincias, cumque diu morarentur Scoti, nec sævirent, credebant in hoc Northumbrenses, ipsos nolle fines suos egredi, et sic ad propria reversi sunt, reducentes omnia. Quod cum didicissent Scoti per exploratores suos, mox et quasi latenter Northumbriam ingressi sunt, et circumducentes patriam, subito peremerunt multos, et prædas maximas asportaverunt; et ex tunc erant Scoti ingredienti et egredientes ad libitum, cubantes in foresta de Routhebiry, nec erat qui exterreret eos.

In tempore illo cessavit laus Dei in omnibus monasteriis et ecclesiis totius provinciæ, a Novo Castro super Tynam usque Karliolum. Fugerant enim a facie Scotorum omnes monachi, Canonici Regulares, et ceteri sacerdotes, ministri Domini, cum plebe quasi tota. Vacabant itaque Scoti incendiis et rapinis a festo Sancti Lucae, [Oct. 18] usque ad festum Sancti Martini, [Nov. 11] et non erat qui impediret, nisi quod viri quidam ex nostris, qui erant in præsidio castri de Alnewyk et aliorum castrorum, aliquando exeuntes extremas eorum reliquias cædebant.⁴

In festo vero Sancti Martini, et per octavas sequentes, conglobati Scoti processerunt ubique vastantes omnia, cumque venissent Karliolum, miserunt ad urbem sacerdotem quendam absque levita, qui diceret hæc, "Mandat vobis dominus meus Willelmus conquæstor, ut vitæ vestræ consulentes, absque sanguinis effusione reddatis ei villam et castrum, dabitque vobis vitas, et membra, et omnia catalla vestra. Quod si non feceritis, confestim expugnabit vos, et ad internationem usque delebit." At illi responderunt ei, "Quis est ille conquæstor?" At ille, "Willelmus, quem Walays nominatis." Adjecerunt et illi, "Rex noster," inquit, "curam et custodiam civitatis istius et castri, vice et nomine suo, et heredum suorum, nobis tradidit, et credimus, eum non habere gratum, vel ratum habere velle, ut domino tuo Willelmo ea liberemus. Sed vade, et dic ei, ut, si ea habere voluerit, veniat ad modum boni conquæstoris, et locum expugnet, habeatque, si possit, civitatem et castrum, et universa

⁴ Hearnæ here adds, "in modica tamen parte seu."

contenta." Moxque illo recedente, tetenderunt machinas, et ad resistendum paraverunt se. Quod videntes Scoti, declinaverunt ab urbe, vastaveruntque universa per medium forestæ de Inglewode, Cumberland et Allendale,^u usque Derewent ad Koker mew. Non enim pepercit eorum oculus ordini, sexui vel ætati, quin etiam ecclesias Dei concremant, ejus sanctuaria quasi pro nihilo reputabant. Et cum esset Scotorum propositum, ut in episcopatu Dunolmenfi acies dirigerent, impedit^v eos Deus et gloriosus ejusdem loci patronus, Sanctus Cuthbertus. Supervenit enim tempestas maxima grandinis, nivis et fortis gelu infra^w easdem Octavas beati Martini, ita quod multi^x Scotorum fame et frigore perierunt. Exploratores etiam eorum venientes, dicebant, eundem episcopatum armis præparatum et bene munitum immenso populo, et tamen non erant centum armati, et vix tria milia peditum electorum. Qui licet multo plures ante ad resistendum in confinio manserant, eodem tamen tempore perterriti ad propria fugerunt. Sed deficiente populo, non defuit gloriosus ille Cuthbertus, quin, ut pie creditur, Scotorum propositum suis sanctis precibus quassatum est.

Revertentes ergo Scoti a^z cæde prædicta, venerunt apud Hexcelsam, ubi tres Canonici ejusdem domus, qui paulo ante redierant, mortem non timentes, cum vidissent venientem exercitum, fugerunt in oratorium suum, quod de novo construxerant, ut, si sic esset divina voluntas, sacrificium sibi fierent in odore^{xxx} suavitatis; moxque ingressi sunt ad eos viri lancearii vibrantes eis lanceas, et dicentes, "Ostendite nobis thesauros ecclesiæ vestræ, vel confestim moriemini." Ad hæc unus de^y Canonicis; "Non," inquit, "diu est quod vos et populus vester omnia quasi vestra asportastis in terram vestram, et ubi reposuistis ea scitis. Nos vero extunc pauca quæsimus, sicut jam in præsentis videtis." Interim vero dux eorum ingressus est, scilicet Willelmus Walays, et comminabatur suis, ut recederent; rogavitque, ut eorum aliquis Missam celebraret, et statim celebravit unus. Factaque elevatione, egressus est ille Willelmus ad deponendum arma sua; et factum est, cum perveniret sacerdos ad perceptionem sacratissimi corporis et sanguinis Christi, circumsteterunt eum Scoti

^u Allerdale, *MS. Lansd.*

^v Impediunt, *L.*

^w inter, *L.*

^x Scoti multorum, *H.*

^z ad, *H.*

^{xxx} Eodem, *H.*

^y ex, *L.*

^{yy} This word omitted in *L.*

multi, ut calicem abriperent. Cumque manus ablueret, et a sacratio reverteretur altari, invenit calicem asportatum, quem super altare reclinaverat, manutergiaque et cetera ornamenta ipsius altaris. Nec erat ei liber, in quo finiret Missam inceptam, eo quod asportaverant omnia. Et cum hæsitaret sacerdos, quid esset faciendum, reversus est ille Willelmus, et vidit hæc, præcepitque, ut quærerentur sacrilegi, et capite plecterentur. Sed inventi non sunt, utpote cum dissimulatione quæsit. Adjecitque ad canonicos, "Non," inquit, "a me recedatis quoquam, sed mecum maneat, ut salvemini. Populus enim iste malitiosus^a est, nec justificari potest seu castigari." Manfitque ibidem per duos dies, et populus ille perverfus dispersus est per circumadjacentem provinciam, comburens incendio et vastans universa. Habuitque tunc ille Willelmus Walays focium in literis sequentibus nominatum, qui eisdem canonicis litteras suas protectorias concefferunt, conceptas in hac forma.

LITERÆ PROTECTORIÆ.

"Andreas de Moravia et Willelmus Wallensis, duces exercitus regni Scotiæ, nomine præclari principis domini Johannis, Dei gratia regis Scotiæ illustris, de consensu communitatis regni ejusdem, omnibus hominibus dicti regni, ad quos præsentem literæ pervenerint, salutem.

"Sciatis, nos, nomine dicti regis, Priorem et Conventum de Hexhildesham in Northumbria, terras suas, homines suos, et universas eorum possessiones, ac omnia bona sua mobilia et immobilia, sub firma pace et protectione ipsius domini regis et nostra juste suscepisse. Quare firmiter prohibemus, ne quis eis in personis, terris seu rebus, malum, molestiam, injuriam seu gravamen aliquod inferre præsumat, super plenaria forisfactura ipsius domini regis, aut mortem eis, vel alicui eorum inferat,^a sub pœna amissionis vitæ et membrorum: præsentibus post annum minime valituris. Dat. apud Hexhildesham, .vij.º die Novembris."

"Andreas,^b &c. Sciatis, quod suscepimus unum canonicum de Hexhildesham, cum suo armigero, et duobus famulis suis, in salvum et securum conductum regis nostri et nostrum, ad veniendum ad nos ubicunque fu-

^a Malignus, *L.*^a Omitted in *MS. Lansd.*^b Alexander, *L.*

erimus, quandocunque neceſſe fuerit et expediens dictæ domui. Et ideo vobis omnibus et ſingulis, nomine dicti domini regis, mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quatinus, cum aliquis canonicus dictæ domus, cum prædicto armigero et famulis ſuis, præſentes literas ſecum habens, cauſa veniendi ad nos, inter vos venerit, ipſos ſub ſalva cuſtodia ad nos ducatis, ita quod nullus eos in perſonis ſeu rebus moleſtet in aliquo, ſub regis plenaria foriſſactura, aut mortem eis vel alicui eorum inferat, ſub pœna amiſſionis vitæ et membrorum : præſentibus ad voluntatem noſtram duraturis.”

Egredientes tandem Scoti de loco illo, tetenderunt acies ſuas verſus Novum Caſtrum ex parte boreali de Tyne; et cum eſſent ex oppoſito illius villæ de Ritone, egreſſi ſunt viri quidam ex eadem villa, et maledicebant eis, non timentes eos, eo quod aqua ſuperabundaret hac in parte. Moxque ex Scotis tranſierunt multi, et eandem villam incendentes, continuo reverſi ſunt, fugientibuſque incolis, jam ſtatim rumor aſcendit, “ Adveniunt Scoti!” crevitque clamor et ululatus eorum per provinciam totam, et fugerunt et ſecum aſportaverunt bona ſua, non quidem in gaudio, ſed in fletu; nec erat qui reſiſteret, ſeu ad reſiſtendum ſe pararet, niſi Dunelmeneſes et cives de Novo Caſtro. Viri enim animoſi, qui erant in præſidio Novi Caſtri, paraverunt ſe ad pugnam, egredientes ab urbe, non longe tamen, eo quod perpauci fuerant reſpectu multorum. Quod videntes Scoti, declinaverunt ab urbe, et dividentes inter ſe ſpolia quaſita, tradiderunt Galwalenſibus partes ſuas, et abierunt in loca ſua.

CARLIOLENSES FECERUNT PRÆDAS IN VALLE ANANDIÆ.

Modicum ante Natale Domini, Dominus Robertus de Clifford, cum centum armatis de præſidio civitatis et comitatus Carliolenſis, et viginti milibus peditum electorum, ingreſſus eſt Vallem Anandiæ, ut prædaretur ibidem. Cumque tranſiſſent aquam de Sulewath, mox voce præconis conclamatum eſt, ut nulli^e quicquam boni facerent, niſi tantum ſibi met ipſis. Quo audito, gaviſi ſunt pedestreſ, et continuo ad prædas diſperſi ſunt. Equeſtreſ vero maturo greſſu proceſſerunt, et ſimul. Cumque

^e nullum, H.

venissent in mora juxta Anandiam, ecce, incolæ ejusdem provinciæ adunati, venientes, improperabant eis, vocantes eos, "Canes caudatos," et præ paucitate eos contemnentis, eo quod pedestres sui longe fuerant ab eis separati. Ad hoc autem exhortantes se nostri, ad invicem congressi sunt cum hac multitudine magna, et cæsis quibusdam, reliquos in fugam converterunt, concluderuntque eos in quodam marisco, quousque venientes pedestres, qui occiderunt ex eis trescentos et octo viros, et quosdam duxerunt captivos. Iterumque revertentes ad prædam, combusserunt plus quam decem villas ibidem infra limites parochiarum nostrarum, et tandem reversi sunt Karliolum in vigilia Natalis Domini [Dec. 24] cum ipsis captivis et præda magna. Iterato etiam circa principium quadragesimæ transferunt ibidem, et Vallem Anandiæ exspoliantes, ignem apposerunt. Qui accensus crevit in immensum, et combussit eandem ecclesiam nostram;^d et sic captis spoliis et quibusdam captivis reversi sunt, et extunc vacabant mutuis incendiis et rapinis.

QUOMODO COMITES PROCESSERUNT IN SCOTIAM.

Rex etiam noster per literas suas speciales rogavit eosdem comites, et ceteros magnates, qui remanserant in Anglia, ut, sicut suum et totius terræ Anglicanæ honorem diligerent, cum festinatione parati procederent in Scotiam cum comite de Warena, quem suo loco præfecerat, ut Scotorum audaciam et reprimerent et castigarent; præfixitque eis terminum, in octavis scilicet Sancti Hillarii [Jan. 20] apud Eboracum, ut interim pararentur et convenirent ibidem, ex tunc in suos hostes processuri. Misit etiam rex literas suas ad magnates Scotiæ, ut, si in fide et in fidelitate sua manerent, sicut in recessu suo se remanere promiserant, ad Parliamentum suum apud Eboracum, quod per comites suos in crastino Sancti Hillarii [Jan. 14] celebrandum statuerat, absque omni cavillatione venirent, alioquin ex tunc velut hostes publici tenerentur. Ad quam quidem diem convenerunt comites nostri, isti scilicet, comes de Warena, qui locum regis tenens personam ipsius præsentabat in hoc, comes Gloucestræ, cum

^d The monks of Gisburn in Yorkshire, of which establishment Hemingford was a member, had a church in Annandale, the gift of their founder, Robert de Bruce.

comitissa uxore sua filia regis, comes Marefcallus, comes Herefordensis, comes de Arundell, et Gwydo filius comitis de Warewyk, patris locum tenens : barones etiam isti, fcilicet, Henricus de Percy, Johannes Wake, Johannes de Segrave, et magnates plurimi. Communicatoque confilio, voluerunt, ut constaret communi populo de confirmatione Magnæ Cartæ et Cartæ de Foresta ; unde lecta Magna Carta cum articulis insertis, quos enumeravimus supra, de præcepto eorum Karliolensis episcopus, pontificalibus indutus, excommunicationis sententiam in omnes ejus violatores fulminavit.

Cumque non venirent Scoti neque mitterent, statuerunt, ut in Octavis fequentibus apud Novum Castrum super Tynam omnis numeraretur populus expeditus ad pugnam, et sic continue procederetur in hostes. Venientes autem ibidem, numeraverunt populum univcrsum, et inventa sunt duo milia equorum armatorum cum ascensoribus electis, et aliorum equitantium plus quam mille ducenti, peditum autem cum Wallenfibus plus quam centum milia ; et procefferunt continuo ufque ad confinia regionum, et fingulis diebus augebatur eorum numerus, et in pedestribus et in equitibus.* Cumque fciviffent Scoti adventum eorum validum, timuerunt, et relinquentes obfidionem castrî de Rokesburg, quod multo jam tempore oppugnaverant, eo quod tenebatur ibidem episcopus Glasguensis, fugerunt a facie Anglorum, ingressique sunt nostri et villam et castrum, consolantes obfessos, et vulneratis et attonitis medelam adhibentes, confirmatoque castro digressi sunt ufque Kelshow. Inde revertentes ad Berewyk super Twedam, invenerunt eam vacuum, eo quod fugerant Scoti, audito eorum ingressu in terram ; et Anglicis castrensibus, qui multo jam tempore a Scotis fuerant oppugnati, facta est lætitia magna in admiffione fuorum. Cumque nostrorum fuiffet voluntatis et propositi, ut ad perdendum Scotorum exercitum dirigerent acies suas, ecce, a rege nostro novum emanavit mandatum. Supervenit enim, quasi in principio Quadragesimæ, miles quidam cum literis regis ad prædictum comitem de Warena, ceterosque comites et alios suos fideles, continentibus in parte sic, quod ipse rex, auctore Domino, negotia sua transmarina jam bene pro

* equis, L.

voto expedierat ; et in propria persona properaret ad eos in Scotiam, cum omni festinatione qua posset, adjiciens, ut ante ipsius adventum nihil quid magnum attentaretur in Scotis, nec se ullo discrimini manciparent, sed si villam de Berewyk possent adipisci, manerent ibidem, citum ejus adventum præstolantes.

Accepto itaque hujus mandato, elegerunt ex universis armatis mille quingentos viros in equis armatis, et circiter viginti milia peditum electorum, qui venerant ex Wallia, et ex remotioribus partibus terræ, remittentes ad propria ceteros usque ad adventum regis. Manseruntque sic in eadem villa de Berewyk, expectantes regis adventum, et semper suis hostibus ad resistendum parati.

QUOMODO FESTINAVIT REX CUM EXERCITU CONTRA SCOTTOS.

Anno Domini m.cc.º nonagesimo octavo, postquam reversus est rex a Flandria, statuit Parliamentum suum apud Eboracum, in festo Pentecostes, præmisitque literas suas ad magnates Scotiæ, ut, si in fidelitate sua, in qua eos dimiserat, adhuc persistendo manerent, in eodem Parlamento modis omnibus se absque ulla excusatione præsentarent ; alioquin, omni ambiguitate postposita, eos velut hostes publicos censeret hostiliter, et cum omni festinatione, expetendos. Cumque non venirent neque mitterent, ordinavit rex cum optimatibus suis, qui ibidem occurrerant ei ab urbe de Berewick, et in osculo pacis ab eo suscepti sunt, ut in crastino Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptistæ apud Rokesburgh, cum equis et armis omnes sui fideles convenirent. Interim vero visitavit rex sanctum Johannem de Beverlaco, sicut et aliis vicibus in redeundo et eundo facere consuevit. Adveniente itaque Nativitate Baptistæ, convenerunt omnes in loco nominato. Et numeratus regis exercitus cum comitibus suis et Dunelmensi episcopo, tria millia electorum in equis armatis, præter equitantes armatos in equis non armatis, qui numerabantur plus quam quatuor millia electorum. De exercitu autem pedestri non curavit rex illa vice, eo quod non artabantur aliqui, nisi qui gratis venire voluerunt. Numerati tamen sunt pedestres qui aderant, et inventi sunt octoginta millia, qui quasi omnes erant Hibernici et Walenses. Multi etiam venerunt postmodum de Wafconia, circiter quingenti armati in equis optimis et armis pulcherri-

mis. Quorum quidam mittebantur a rege ad custodiendam villam de Berwike, et manserunt ibi usque post commissum proelium cum gente Scottorum.

Interim comites nostri Marecallus et Herfordensis, propter quædam audita dubitantes de mutatione voluntatis regis, in confirmatione Cartarum Libertatis et Forestæ, eo quod confirmaverat eas in terra aliena, dixerunt se ulterius procedere non debere, nisi major fieret securitas et de equitatione forestæ, et de ceteris articulis postulatis. Verum quia in persona propria principem jurare non licet, et eos placare vellet, præcepit rex, et juraverunt in animam ejus Dunelmensis episcopus, comes de Warrena, comes Glocestriæ et comes Lincolnienfis, quod in reditu suo, obtenta victoria, omnia perimpleret ad votum. Quo factò, et omnibus ad expeditionem belli præparatis, processerunt turmatim per modicas dietas, vastantes et incendentes universa, neminem tamen invenire poterant, qui de Scottorum exercitu informaret eos. Cumque venisset rex apud Templehyston,^f et moratus ibi fuisset per dies aliquot, nunciatum est ei, quod Scotti, qui erant in præsidio castris de Drilton,^g cum duobus castellis finitimis, quæ quidem castella rex præterierat, multas agebant prædas, et extrema castrorum suorum, dum ad paleas mitterentur, cedebant aliquando. Statimque accito Dunelmensi episcopo, misit eum ibi, ut ea obsideret. Qui cum insultum fecisset ad castrum de Drilton per dies aliquot, resistenter fortiter, et ex infilientibus paucos peremerunt, deficientibusque ligneis machinis et victualibus, eo quod non habebant quod comederent nisi pisces et fabas, quas excutiebant in campis, misit episcopus nuncios ad regem, qui ejus voluntatem expeterent. Et erat missus ille strenuissimus miles Johannes Marmeduche; cui dixit rex, "Revertere," inquit, "et dic episcopo, quod homo pietatis est in quantum episcopus, non tamen oportet in hoc factò opera^h pietatis exercere." Et applaudens militi ait, "Tu autem homo crudelis es, et præ nimia crudelitate tua aliquoties redargui te, eo quod exultando gaudes in mortem inimicorum tuorum. Sed nunc quidem vade, et omnem tuam excerce tyrannidem, nec quidem vituperabo fed laudabo te. Et cave, ne faciem meam videas, quousque

^f Templehyston, L.

^g Driltone, L.

^h opem, L.

incendantur illa tria castra." Cui ille, " Et quo modo hoc faciam, domine mi rex, cum fit mihi valde difficile?" Et rex ad eum, " Vade," inquit, " quia faciens facies, et fidem mihi dabis quod hoc facies." Dataque benedictione, dimisit eum; et ipse veniens ad episcopum, nuntiabat ei omnia verba hæc. Interim visitavit eos Dominus. Venerunt enim eis cum victualibus tres naves onustæ, unde reassumtis viribus, acrius solito insultum fecerunt, ita quod attoniti castrenses dederunt se post biduum, salvis sibi bonis, vita et membris, missisque novis militibus ad alia castra, ut suæ novitatis gloriam exercerent, invenerunt ea vacua et igni succenderunt. Et sic captis et succensis illis tribus castellis, reversi sunt ad regem cum gaudio et gloria.

Dum fere per mensem talia gererentur, defecerunt victualia regi. Non enim venerant naves per mare occidentis, sicut præordinaverat rex, quia contrarius fuerat eis ventus; venerant tamen quædam cum ducentis doliiis vini et victualibus paucis, quæ quidem dolia, statim, ex præcepto regis, distributa sunt per exercitum. Dataque sunt Wallensibus duo dolia vini ad refocillandas eorum animas, eo quod valde defecerant et moriebantur glomeratim. Qui cum degustassent, continuo inebriati sunt, et rixantes cum Anglicis, extenderunt manus noxias in Christos Domini, perimentes ex eis octodecim personas, et aliis quamplurimis vulneratis. Quod cum audissent equestres, turbati sunt, et armati continuo processerunt in mortem eorum, occisique octoginta Wallensibus, reliquos in fugam converterunt. Mane quidem factò, dixerunt quidam regi, " Ecce, Wallenses supra modum irati propter rixam hesternam, se Scottis conjungere et dare disponunt, nisi per te, O rex, ad bonum pacis revocentur." Et erat tunc eorum numerus quasi quadraginta millia. Et ait rex, " Quæ cura, si hostes hostibus jungantur? Uterque enim eorum hostis noster est; vadant ergo quo voluerint, quoniam, auctore Domino, in uno die vindicabimur de utrisque." Quod cum audissent illi, fecuti sunt regem, sed tamen a longe; dicebatur enim, quod si vidissent Scottos in aliquo prævalere, se statim ipsis conjunxissent etiam in mortem Anglorum. Dissipavit tamen Dominus imaginationes has; nam cito post, cum ingrueret in castris fames valida, et disposuit rex redire ad Edinburch, ut per mare orientis reciperent victualia, et alia via contra Scottos graderentur: ecce!

duo comites, Patricius scilicet et de Anegos, die proxima ante festum Mariæ Magdalenæ, [Jul. 21,] summo diluculo ad episcopum Dunelmensem venientes, et cum eis episcopus, statim ad regem, statuerunt puerum exploratorem, coram rege, qui diceret, "Salve rex," et rex ad eum, "Salveris," inquit, et intulit puer, "Domine mi rex, exercitus Scottorum et omnes hostes tui non distant a te nisi per sex leucas modicas juxta Faukyrke in foresta de Falkyrk.¹ Et audito hoc, quod redire disponis ad Edinburghe,² jam statuerunt sequi te, et irruere in castra tua nocte sequenti, vel saltem cædere et diripere extrema castrorum tuorum." Et ait rex, "Vivit Dominus, qui usque huc eruit me ab omni angustia, non erit necesse ut sequantur me, quoniam procedam eis in obviam, etiam die hac." Statimque præcepit, ut armarentur omnes, nec tamen diceretur, quo procedere vellet. Ipse autem rex armatus præ ceteris ascendit in equum, et exhortabatur alios ad arma capienda. Et ore proprio loquebatur ad eos, qui vendebant mercimonia, ut deliberate componerent sarcinulas suas, et sequerentur omnes eum, nec expavescerent. Omnibus itaque præparatis, processit rex hora quasi tertia a loco illo Templehyston,³ dirigens gressus suos versus locum nominatum de Faukyrk. Mirabantur omnes, quod mutasset propositum, et lente passimque procedebant absque festinatione ulla. Cumque venisset⁴ in mora citra Linliscoch,⁵ pernoctaverunt ibidem, et requiescebant in terra, componentes scuta pro cervicalibus et pro lectualibus arma. Equi etiam sui non gustabant quicquam nisi ferrum durum, tenebanturque singuli juxta dominos suos. Dumque pausassent modicum, et nox⁶ quasi in suo medio processisset, contigit, quod dextrarius regis incautius a puero custoditus, recalcitrando pedem posuit super ipsum regem quiescentem. Et audito hoc, regem, scilicet, esse læsum, statim ascendit clamor, seditionem fieri, et hostes esse paratos⁷ ad irruendum in eos. Qui continuo paraverunt se, et ad congregiendum animati sunt. Cognita tamen rei [serie, et regem modicum esse]⁸ læsum, compatiebantur ei, et requievit spiritus eorum.

Statimque ascendente rege, profecti sunt et tranfierunt villam de Lin-

¹ Solkyrke, *L.*

² Edenesburch.

³ Templehystone.

⁴ venissent.

⁵ Linlystoch, *L.*

⁶ Non, *Hearne.*

⁷ parati, *L.*

⁸ The words from *serie* to *esse* are faultily omitted in *L.*

liscoth in aurora diei ; cumque levassent oculos, et in oppositum^a montem respexissent, viderunt in supercilio montis lanceareos multos. Et credentes ibi esse Scottorum exercitum, festinaverunt ascendere per turmas suas, sed tamen ibidem venientes neminem invenerunt. Fixeruntque tentorium ibidem, et audierunt missam Magdalensæ rex et episcopus, erat enim festum ejusdem diei. Dumque sacrosancta fierent solemnia, et mutuo se cognoscere possent homines, ex clara luce viderunt nostri Scottos a remotis bella construere, et ordinare se ad pugnam. Statuerunt enim Scotti omnem plebem suam per turmas quatuor, in modum circulorum rotundorum, in campo duro, et in latere uno cujusdam^r montifilii juxta Fawkirke. In quibus quidem circulis sedebant viri lancearii, cum lanceis suis obliquialiter erectis ; conjuncti quidem unusquisque ad alterum, et versis vultibus in circumferentiam circulorum. Inter circulos illos erant spatia quædam intermedia, in quibus statuebantur viri sagittarii ; et in extrema parte retrorsum erant equestres^s eorum.

Cumque, audita missa, regi nostro talia dicerentur, hæsitavit et proposuit, ut tentoria figerent, quousque gustassent aliquid homines et jumenta. Non enim gustaverant ab hora diei præcedentis tertia. At illi dixerunt ei, “ Non est securum hoc, O rex, quia inter hos duos exercitus, non est nisi torrens permodicus.” Et ait rex, “ Quid ergo ?” et inquit, “ Equitemus in nomine Domini, quoniam campus noster est et victoria nostra.” Et ait rex, “ Fiat ergo sic, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.” Statimque comites primæ aciei, scilicet, comes Marecallus, comes Herfordensis et comes Lincolnensis, direxerunt aciem suam linealiter ad hostes, nescientes lacum intermedium bituminosum ; quem cum vidissent, circumduxerunt eum versus occidentem, et sic in parte retardati sunt. Acies vero secunda, filicet Dunelmensis episcopi, quæ constituta fuerat ex sex et triginta vexillariis electis, sciens impedimentum laci illius, tendebat ad orientem, ut eum circumduceret. Quam supra modum festinantem, ut primos belli ictus fusciperet, cum ipse episcopus præstolari jussisset usque ad appropinquationem^t regis tertiæ aciei, respondit ei^u ille

^a compositum, L.

^r This and the following word are omitted by the Lansd. MS.

^s The Lansd. MS. here erroneously reads “ pedestres.”

^t propinq. C.

^u ei omitted in C.

miles strenuus Radulphus Basset de Drayton,^v et ait, “ Non est tuum, episcope, docere nos in præfenti de militia, qui te intromittere debes de missa. Vade quidem,”^w inquit, “ missam celebrare, si velis,^x quoniam die hac, quæ ad militiam pertinent, nos omnes faciemus.” Festinaveruntque, et primo Scottorum circulo se statim post^y conjunxerunt; comites vero prædicti cum acie prima ex parte altera convenerunt.

Moxque venientibus nostris, fugerunt Scottorum equestres absque ullo gladii ictu, paucis tamen remanentibus, et hi quidem ad ordinandum circulos pedestrium, qui quidem circuli vocabantur Schiltroms.^z Inter quos frater Senescalli Scotiæ, cum ordinasset viros sagittarios de foresta de Selkirk, casu ex equo cecidit, et inter eosdem sagittarios occisus est. Circumfeterunt enim^a eum iidem sagittarii, et cum eo corruerunt, homines quidem elegantis formæ et proceræ staturæ.^b Peremptis vero sagittariis, dederunt se nostri ad Scottos lancearios, qui, ut dictum est, sedebant in circulis cum lanceis obliquatis et in modum filvæ condensæ. Dumque non possent equestres ingredi præ multitudine lancearum, percusserunt exteriores et perforaverunt^c plures lanceis suis. Sed et pedestres nostri sagittabant eos, et quidem allatis rotundis lapidibus, quorum erat ibi multitudo copiosa, lapidabant eos; et sic multis interfectis et aliis attonitis, qui in extrema parte circulorum exstiterant, recurvabantur in alios reliqui exteriores, et ingressi sunt equestres vastantes omnia. Corrueruntque ex Scottis in die illa, præter submersos multos, quorum nescitur numerus, et præter quasi viginti equestres, quinquaginta millia peditum numeratorum.^{ca} Erat autem Scottorum exercitus numeratus, ut dicebant qui capti sunt, quasi mille equestres armati,^{cb} et peditum quasi trecenta millia. Salvavitque Dominus nostros, nec cecidit homo valoris in omni proelio, nisi solus^d Magister Militiæ Templi,^e qui insequendo fugientes in quodam lacu interceptus^f est et occisus.

Obtenta, ut dictum est, a Scottis victoria, procefferunt aliqui ex comitibus nostris, insequente postmodum rege, usque ad Sanctum Andream

^v “de Drayton” omitted in C. ^w “quidem” omitted in C. ^x vis, C. ^y “statim post” omitted in C.
^z Scheltromus, L. Scheltromis, C. ^a “enim” omitted in C. ^b itaque, L., C. ^c perforabant, C.
^{ca} electorum. ^{cb} dampnati. ^d templi solus, C. ^e His name was Brian de Jay, as appears from several documents connected with him. ^f interemptus, C.

et Villam^e sancti Johannis vastantes omnia; nec erat ex Scottis qui resisteret, vel inveniretur ab eis. Diverteruntque nostri per medium forestæ de Selkyrke usque castellum de Aree, et invenerunt illud vacuum et incensum. Audito enim adventu regis, fugit a facie ejus Robertus de Bruse, junior, et incendit illud castrum quod tenuerat. Cumque fuisset voluntatis regiæ, ut tunc Gallwalliam ingrederetur, deficiente tamen pane, defecit et propositum ejus: non enim venerant naves quas credebatur, et per quindecim dies erat in castris fames valida. Reverfque sunt per medium Vallis Anandiæ, et redditum est regi castellum de Lohmaban, datis vita et membris his qui tenuerunt illud.

Interim veniebat ex Hibernia quidam nobilis, Thomas Byfeth,^b et in auxilium Scottorum, ut communiter dicebatur. Qui cum applicuisset in insula de Aree, et se dedissent ei incolæ illius, audissetque ab incolis, regem nostrum belli obtinuisse victoriam, misit ad eum nuncios, dicens, se venisse in auxilium ejus, et adquisisse jam nomine ipsius eandem insulam de Aree, quam sibi et heredibus suis ab ipso rege petiit perpetuis temporibus possidendam; acceptavitque rex mittentis factum et petitionem, quam fecerat, absque consilio comitum confirmavit. Quod audientes comites, scilicet Marescallus et Herfordensis, admirati sunt, eo quod promiserat, se nihil novi facturum absque eorum assensu et consilio; et cum esset rex apud Karliolum, petierunt a rege repatriandi licentiam, allegantes jacturam maximam et fatigationem hominum et equorum, receperuntque sic, et remansit ibidem rex cum magnatibus plurimis, tenuitque parliamentum suum juxta octavas Beatæ virginis Mariæ,¹ et assignavit et dedit in spe magnatibus suis terras multas magnatorum regni Scotiæ, scilicet, comitatus comitibus, et baronias baronibus; vallem tamen Anandiæ, nec Galualiam, et quosdam comitatus nemini assignavit. Sed, ut dicitur, ex causa distulit, ne excandescerent comites, qui paulo ante receperant, nec fortiti sunt partem inter pares suos. Quo facto, reversus est rex usque Dunelmum, volens iter suum dirigere ad partes australes; sed accepto nuncio, quod coadunarent se Scotti, reversus est, et fere usque ad

^e Pert cum villa, L., C.

¹ infra, C.

^b Thomas scilicet de Byseth, L. "nobilis, scilicet Baseth" in C.

Natale moratus apud Tinemowe. Natale vero apud Cothyngam juxta Beverlacum.

1300. Anno Domini m.ccc. rex, congregato exercitu, profectus est in Scotiam circa Festum Beati Johannis Baptistæ, ubi initis treugis usque frequens Pentecosten, reversus est post tempus modicum ad partes australes, tenuitque Parliamentum suum in sequenti quadragesima apud Stanfordiam, et monebantur^a proceres de equitatura Forestæ nondum completa,¹ et in locis aliquibus nondum incepta. Cumque orientur verba, et a multis fierent comminationes occultæ, timuit rex, et iratus^m animo lenibus blandisqueⁿ sermonibus delinivit, promisitque et plus solito tenuit equitaturam Forestæ eodem anno fieri debere, et ita factum est.
1301. Anno Domini m.ccc. primo, finitis treugis in festo Pentecostes inter regem et Scotos initis, congregavit rex exercitum, et circa festum beati Johannis Baptistæ in Scotiam profectus est, hiemavitque ibidem, et Natale suum tenuit apud Linlyscoth, perdiderunt sui equos multos propter defectum foragii et frigoris hiemalis. Misitque rex Franciæ nuncios et literas pro Scotis, ut, ad rogatum ipsius, inirentur treugæ, saltem usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum. Et quia rex sororem suam de novo duxerat, noluit ei contradicere, sed rogata concessit, appositisque custodiibus in confinio, reversus est Londoniis, et parliamentum ibidem tenuit in medio quadragesimæ.
1302. Anno Domini m.ccc.ii. elapsis treugis, misit rex robur exercitus in Scotiam, cum domino Johanne de Segrave et fratribus suis, erant enim milites strenuissimi. Cumque non timerent sibi, et erant juxta Edenburgh, in principio quadragesimæ, nec scirent Scotorum infidias, dimiserunt se nostri per tres turmas, et distabant ab invicem quasi per duas leucas. Eratque ipse dominus Johannes cum trecentis armatis proximior hostibus, qui latebant eum. Et ecce, puer unus ex suis summo diluculo primæ Dominicæ Quadragesimæ^o veniens, nunciavit ei, hostes ad manum

^a Movebantur, *L.*, *C.*

ⁿ "Blandis" omitted in *C.*

¹ Expleta, *C.*

^o Deleted in *L.*

^m Iratos, *C.*

esse. Consuluitque, ut revertetur ad confocios et conglobati non time-
rent; sed noluit suæ strenuitati notam impingi, ut retrocederet. Imo
armatus processit eis obviam, cecideruntque multi hinc et inde, et ipse
lethaliter vulneratus est et captus. Captique sunt cum eo plus quam vi-
ginti milites electi, sed supervenientibus quibusdam ex nostris de secunda
turma, rapuerunt eum a custodibus suis et abduxerunt. Corruit etiam
ibi dominus Radulphus le Cofrer,^p qui ex parte regis stipendia ministra-
bat. Et reversi sunt alii in Angliam, deferentes sinistra nova regi.

Miraculose, ut creditur, eadem Dominica contigit, quod dominus Ro-
bertus de Neveill^{pp} cum suis Missam audiebat summo mane, nesciens quid
interim ageretur; qua peracta, festinavit, ut cum prædicto domino
Johanne capitaneo exercitus loqueretur, obviavitque fugientibus, et per
ipsum et suos liberati sunt captivi multi, et Scoti in magna parte retro-
gressi, nec corruit unus ex eis qui Missæ intererant, nec aliquis captus
seu vulneratus.

Eodem anno, postquam audierat rex suos corruisse in Scotia, ut præ-
dictum est, congregavit exercitum copiosum, et convenerunt ad eum om-
nes ex edicto in festo Pentecostes apud Rokeborough, profectusque est
per dietas modicas prædas agens multas, incendens et quasi devastans om-
nia, perlustravitque terram et omnes montes usque Cathenessë, nec erat
qui resisteret ei, fugerant enim ad paludes et insulas quasdam finitimas.
Videntes autem Scoti, se nullo modo posse resistere, miserunt ad regem,
rogantes humiliter ea quæ pacis sunt. Et si permittere vellet, quod ter-
ras suas, quas suis magnatibus dederat et promiserat ante, possent sub eo
pacifice possidere et tenere, libenter eas redimerent dato precio. Placuit-
que regi fermo, et ex clementia regia suscepit eos ad pacem modo præ-
dicto, in festo sancti Michaelis subsequenti. Reversusque est et obsedit
castrum Stryvelyn, quod prius obsidere gratis prætermiserat, ut sui scilicet
fugientes ab eo per manus hostium pertransire timerent, hiemavitque
ad Dunfermelyn, et ibi venit ad eum uxor sua regina, quæ apud Tynemw
diu manserat.

^p Le Coffre, L.

^{pp} Nevyl, L.

Transactoque hieme, fortius solito insultum fecit ad castrum; habuit enim ligneas machinas multas projicientes lapides ponderis centum, ducentarum, vel trescentarum librarum; concusseruntque muros, et demolierunt excelsa murorum continuatis ictibus et adhuc se dare noluerunt obsessi, sed viriliter defenderunt se cum machinis suis, et multos occiderunt. Jussitque rex in dies impleri fossatum cum ramis et lignis; sed illi, igne apposito, omnia combufferunt. Ordinatisque demum machinis, per quas possent muros ascendere, impleveruntque fossata lapidibus et humo. Quod videntes obsessi, petierunt vitam et membra, ut darent se et iteratis vicibus, sed not audivit eos rex, nec audire voluit, nisi suæ gratiæ et suorum judicio se mere supponerent. Distuleruntque ad tempus, mortem metuentes. Tandem vero attoniti, nec valentes ulterius sustinere, dederunt se gratiæ regis, et castrum reddiderunt die sanctæ Margaretæ virginis [Jul. 13] anni subsequenti, jussitque eos salvo custodiri usque ad parlamentum suum Londoniis. Et erant numero plus quam centum et quadraginta et traditi sunt carceribus per diversa loca. Reversus est rex cum victoria, tendens ad austrum per dietas pervalde modicas, et tenuit Lincolnæ Natale Domini cum summo honore. Jussitque in redeundo, quod Justiciarii sui de Banco, et Scaccarium suum cum Banco integro, qui jam per septem annos, a festo sanctæ Trinitatis anno Domini m.cclxxxvii^o usque in præsens Natale Domini, apud Eboracum cum Cancellaria sua, communiter federant, ad Westmonasterium Londoniis reverterentur et redirent, et factum est ita.

V.

EXTRACTS FROM THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF
PETER DE LANGTOFT.¹

EN gestes aunciens trovoums nous escrit
Quels rays, et quels realmes, ly rays Arthur conquift,
Et coment sun purchase largement partyft ;
Roys fuz ly navoit ke ly countre dist,²
En guere, ne bataille, ke chefcun ne fuyft.

Ly rays fir Eduuard ad done trop petyt,
Per qui a sun aler, quant en mer se myft,
Vers ly roys de Fraunce fet ly fu despit,
Ke nes un de fes countes of ly le aler emprist.³
La commune de Escotz la novele oyft,
Chefcun en^t fue part fur coe se joyft ;
La route de raskaylle la guere renove reprist,

¹ The text is transcribed from the Cottonian MS. Julius A. v., a manuscript in folio, written upon vellum in the fourteenth century.

This transcript has been collated with three MSS., namely,

MS. Reg. 20 A. ii. fol. vel. xiv. Cent., the various readings of which are marked *R.*;

— — 20 A. xi. fol. vel. xiv. Cent., the various readings of which are marked *R. 2.*

MS. Harl. 114, fol. vel. xiv. Cent., of which the various readings are marked *H.*

It is obvious, however, that these variations do not affect the sense, but are only verbal, even sometimes literal variations; they have, therefore, been preserved only so long as to furnish a specimen of their nature and value.

² Counte, duke, baron, qe unkes ly faillit, *H. R.*

³ One li laler emprist, *H.*

⁴ La, *H.*

Ly counte et ly baroun feyntement suffrist
 Ke WILLIAME WALAYS chevetayn se fist,
 Per false covertoure, ke homme nentendist
 Ke halt home Descoz relever [ne^a] voufist.
 Ly WALAYS meintenaunt les chastels assaillist
 Permy la tere Descoz, et fouz^v Englays les prift.
 Hwe^w de Cressyngham un pou^x avaunt messist,
 Kant le argent fir Eduuard en taunt esparnist,
 Ke molt de la petaylle del hofst sen partist :
 Ly quens Jon de Guarayne,^y si toft com entendist
 La pees estoit rompue, ke ly Escot promist,^z
 Vers Estriuielyn sen va, of^a lost ke remist ;
 Ou WILLIAME LE WALAYS^b le counte descomfist,
 Per sa folye demene, kaunt alait al lyft ;^c
 Kar, taunt com ly quens al matyn dormist,
 WILLIAM LE WALAYS le chef du pount affist
 De launces et gavelokes,^d home pecea ne vift
 Coylette^e plus espeffe, le counte refusist ;^f
 Les Englays i morurent, Lescot i passa quit.

A cele mesavenue estaient^g tuez
 Vavaffours curtoys de gentil parentez ;
 Robert de Somerville et fun fiz ayez,
 Chivalers et fergeauns i priftrent congez,
 Sorais et Norays,^h ke cy ne sount nomez ;
 Hweⁱ de Cressyngham, en fele mesusez,
 Du destrer coraunt chaist defuz pez,
 Des ribaus^k Descotz fun cors fu demaglez,
 Et en menues corayes le quir escorchez,
 En despit ly roys, ki clerk il fu clamez.
 Marmeduk de Thweng de Deu fait^l honurez

^a *Add. R.*^v *Sur, H. R.*^w *Hugh, H. R.*^x *Poy, H. R.*^y *Garenne, H. R.*^z *Premist, H.*^a *Ove, H.*^b *William Walays, H.*^c *Dememe quant aloyt au lit, H.*^d *Gavelocs, H.*^e *Coilliet, H.*^f *Refuist, H. R.*^g *Estoyent, H. R.*^h *Soreys et Noreys, H.*ⁱ *Hugh, H. R.*^k *Du ribaudaille, H. ; Ouf ribaudaille, R.*^l *Soit, H.*

Cum lyoun se contynt en totes les mellez,^m
 Taunt fist a la jorne ke foens funt les grez,ⁿ
 Counte ne baroun a ly [ne^o] fu comparez,
 Combataunt of leffpeye^p la gard ad recoverez
 Du chaffel de Striuelyn, et la demorez.

Meintenaunt apres ad li Escot maunde
 Dela la mer en Flaundes un ribaud deguyfez,
 Espier fir Eduuard en viles et cytez ;
 Cil revent et dist, en fin veritez,
 Il vist ou fir Eduuard fu mort, et enterrez.
 La Commune Descoz se leve a cele fez,
 Et promette et vouwe a Deu en Trinitez,
 Engleterre destrure, faunz auer pitez,
 Confunder saint eglyse et les ordinez.
 En Northumberland les fols ount commencez
 Arder et destrure, et mefuns et blez.
 Au ray Eduuard en Flaundes fungt gent enveez,
 Ke par les Norays la plainte ount presentez,
 Coment il ount perdu lour teres et lur feez,
 Et coment plus perdrount, et touz les melz banez,
 Ke funt en Engleterre en viles et citez,
 Si plus tost par ly ne fayent aidez.
 Ly ray de tote pars estoit anguffez,
 Ila ka lendemayne fet mauder ses privez
 Counsayllent sur la chose, si com ws orrez.
 Meintenaunt apres ly rays est avyfez
 Ke graunter ly estoit a clers et as barnez
 Les peticiouns, ke furent veez
 As countes et barouns, ke of ly ne funt alez.
 As primas Dengleterre ke tenent les .ij. feez,
 Et as tuz les autres evelkes sacrez,
 As abbez, et priours et beneficiez,

^m ⁿ These lines are transposed in *H. R.*

^o Add. *R.*

^p Ove lespie.

As countes et barouns, ly rays auant nomez
 Par lettre et par buche ad durement priez
 De aide, et de succour, et de amitez
 Encountre les Escos et lur iniquitez.
 Leaument les promette ben feraount werdonez,
 Et auerount lur demaunde a lur voluntez.
 Ly fire de Caunterbire du promes est leez,
 Pur ly et fa province respouns ad donez,
 Salve lastut la pape ad publyez,
 Des bens de saint eglise la desme i ad grauntez,
 Dunt fainer le et defendre en ses digntez.
 Enfint ke par les clers le aver fait levez,
 Et per mesmes les clers as barouns liueriez,
 Kaunt irrount en Escos of lur alyez,
 A falver feint eglise parmy les regnez ;
 E les clers du north du quinte fount chargez,
 A la verrai value com furent taxez,
 Kant al rais Edward donaint lez maytez.

Mayntenant apres, kant les Escos favaient
 Coment al rais Edward ses clers aider volait,
 Coment ses barouns enter eus parlaient,
 Si tost quant le rai enselee verraient
 La Chartre des Franchifes, ke iadis auaient,
 Trestux en Albanye volunters irraient
 Encountre les Escos, ke plus de mal ne fraint ;
 Le venir des barons les Escos dotaint,
 Al chastel de Striuelyn, com gent de pees, alaint,
 A Marmeduk de Tweng hostages presentaint,
 E en lur bapteme promistrent, e joraient,
 Si hors voufist venir, de pees li parleraient,
 E al rays Edward illokes se renderaient ;
 Marmeduke iffist a cels ke ly pryayent,
 Ke sanz plus delayer ly pristrent, e montayent
 Le jouen conestabel, ouekes ly menayent

Tut drait a Dumbretayn, e lenprifonayent;
 Ne feuent lour amys fi mort ou vifs i fayent.
 La trefon fu fete kar les Escoz quidayent
 Si mal lour fust venue par eus, le melz auerayent.
 Ore oyez de la chartre quel gent la portayent
 A clers e al barons, ke la procurayent.

Tant com les clers du fu devaient compaffer
 Ke par la difme graunte ne puffent mal aver,
 Ne la pape offendre, revent li Treforer
 Du rays fir Edward, ke fust outre mer ;
 Cil vers la clergie comenca parler,
 E al les barons enfi noncier,
 “ Amis ly ray ore fires, bee^q de gentil quer,
 De fa feygnurie tut Engleterre eyfer,
 La Chartre des Franchises ws voet confermer,
 E de la foreste laffise amender,
 Com jadis purvist le ray Henri fon per ;”
 La chartre fu moustre e leu a Westmoufter.
 Li fere de Canterbir fur coe ne voelt targer,
 Parny se province lad fet publier ;
 Maintenaunt apres ly quens Marfchal Roger
 E ly quens de Herforthe Umfray, li gentil ber,
 Vers Everwyke fen vont el moufter Saint Pier,
 Les hauz homes de la terre les venent encountrer,
 Ly quens Jon de Soray,^r of tut fen poer,
 Ly gardayn de Gloucestre, Rauf de Moinhermer,
 Of Jone la countesse, fa lige mulier,
 E trestouz ly autre ke portent baner,
 De Dover a Dureme, il venent volunter ;
 Le jour de Saint Annais^s illokes font maunder,
 Leveske de Kardoil ke vient pronuncier
 La sentence follempne al pulpit du monfter,
 Entre les deus countes, of livre e lumer,

^q bis, H. A vous, R.^r Surray, R.^s Agneis, R. 2.

Sur tuz iceax ke facent la charter violer,
 Ou oufter, ou destrure nul poynt del enter.
 Puyz vont vers Escoce Northumberland garder,
 Reffaïent les terres, ke Walays le leer
 Avaunt avait faïfye, e lors fait fuyft arer.

Entre ces aferes la graunt contrariaunce,
 Entre le rays Edward e le ray de Fraunce,
 Jofques a jour certayne pris est delayaunce,[†]
 E la guere fopie, e mys en fuffraunce,
 Jofques lapoftoyle ad fet ordinaunce,
 Entre les deus rays purveu lacordaunce ;
 Par deus mariages la pees est en beaunce.
 Ly rays Edward avera cele, dont fu parlance,
 E fon fiz Edward, ke Deus la fus lavaunce,
 Aura fa feille Felipe, ke nad forfetaunce,
 Clers e lays, [‡] des queus les roys ont affiance,
 Sont alez a Rome of lettres de creaunce,
 Montrer a la pape coment, par quel covenance,
 Gascon estoit rendue of la purtenaunce.
 Entendu ad la pape par lur demufrance
 Quel mal e quel damage, e com sovent grevance,
 Englays e Francays ont eu par la distance,
 Discuffion ad fait de la grant discordaunce,
 E mandez al reis partie de sa voyllaunce
 Acorde bone imette Deu par sa puyffaunce.

[Anno Domini m.cc.º nonagesimo octavo][‡]

Tant com le Apoftoile Boneface atent
 Entre les deus rays purveer lacordement,
 Ly reys fir Edward fon chemyn reprent
 Tut dreit vers Engleterre of figle e of vent.
 Le counte de Menetef,[‡] ke fu fon parent,

[†] est des loyaunce, R. [‡] e reis, R. 2. [‡] Additional in H. R. [‡] Mentest, H. Menetest, R.

E il quens Dascetil,^a le Comyn enfement,
 Fiz cil de Badenake,⁷ e autres jefqe a Trent,
 Quex li rais Edward, sanz or e sanz argent,
 Hors de fa prifone leffa quitement,
 Aler en pilrinage, priaynt devotement.
 Kant congeez estaient, escotez² coment,
 Al ray Felippe de France alayent fausement,
 Ly priayent de foccour e de avauncement,
 Dont recoverir Escoce of le apurtenement,
 A tenir de ly pardurablement.
 Le ray Philippe respont, " Soz,^a alez ws ent,
 La pape par fa lettre me maunde, e defent
 Coure^b four la terre kau^c rays Edward apent,
 Tant com nostre trewe demort fur jugement."
 La fausse compaygnye defaide fassent,^d
 Al port de la mer fen vount viffement,^e
 Passage i trovent prest, promettent largement,
 [Elkipier^f] fen fount, ne lessent pur tourment,
 Arivent en Escoce faunz destourbement.
 Li rays fir Edward par oy dire atent,
 Coment les Escoce lount trahi sovent,
 Lors va visiter Seint Thomas de Kent,
 Seint Jon de Beverle molt devotement,
 Seint Willam de Everwyk, Seint Cuthbert enfement;
 Puyz va vers le north a fa^g lige gent,
 Affempler les fet, e tient parlement.
 Cil parlent, e purvayent, e funt dun assent,
 Aler en Albanye a prendre vengeance,
 [E priver les Escoz de terre e tenement.^h]
 Or oyez quel vengeance ly Dexⁱ omnipotent
 Ifist, par fa pufiance, four le faus covent,
 Ke robba faint eglise de soun vestement,
 E renovelaynt la guere encontre lur ferment,

^a de Asceale, R. de Asceals, R. 2.⁷ Badenagh, H., R., R. 2.² escoutez, R. 2.^a soz, R. folz, R. 2.^b Curer, R.^c que au, H., R., R. 2.^d se sent, H.^e vistement, H., R., R. 2.^f E ki, pierre, C. Eakyper, R. Eakipper, R. 2.^g od sa, R. 2.^h Additional in H., R., R. 2.ⁱ Deus, H.

VI.

EXTRACT FROM THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF
ROBERT DE BRUNNE.¹

GESTES þat er olde writen of many man,
Þritti reames men tolde, þat kyng Arthur wan,
He parted his wynnyng till his men largely,
Þat nouþer erle ne kyng will withfitte his cry;
Þei were at his wille, wer he never fo hie,
Boþe of gode and ille at alle his nede redie.
Oure kyng fir Edward, over litille he gaf,
Tille his barons was hard, overhipped þem overhaf;
He wild not be fo hende, fo large, no fo fre,
Þerfor þei lete him wende alon overe þe fe;
Þorgh þat wendyng alon nere he had bien schent,
It was to mak of mone þat non erle with him went.
Þorh tiping brouht bitide þe Scottes wif of þis,
Ilk Scotte on his fide mad þerof joy t̄ blis;
Þe rafcaill of þer route began to werre alle newe,
Now Edward is oute, þe barons be not trewe.
Þe fuffred, as it fais, þe Scottis eft to rife,
And William þe Wallais, þer hede t̄ þer justife.

¹ The following extract is an English version from the French Metrical Chronicle, of which a portion has been presented to the reader. The text is that of Hearne's, which is in general good, although that editor has preserved a few palpable errors of the MSS.

Þorgh fals concelement William did his wille,
 Our castels has he brent, our men slayn fulle ille ;
 Sir Hugh of Criffengham he did nycely t̄ mys,
 Þe trefore with him he nam, sferd it in his coffris,
 And wild gif no wages to þe folk þer ware,
 Þerfor zomen and pages home gan alle fare.
 Whan Sir Jon of Warenne þe foth vnderstode
 Þat þe Waleis gan brenne, an ofte he gadred gode,
 And went to Striuelyn agayn Waleis William ;
 Bot þe erle with mykelle pyne disconfite away nam,
 And þat was his folie, so long in his bed gan ligge,
 Untille þe Waleis partie had vmbilaid the brigge
 With gaulokes and dartes, fuilk ore was non fene,
 Myght no man þam departe, ne ride, ne go bituene ;
 Þore first þam tauht how þei did Fawe Kirke,
 Alle gate þe brigge he rauht, of nouht our men were irke.
 Whan þe erle herd fay, þe brigge how William toke,
 He douted to die þat day, þat bataille he forfoke ;
 Þe Inglis were alle slayn, þe Scottis bare þam wele,
 Þe Waleis had þe wayn, als maistere of þat eschele.
 At that ilk stoure was slayn on our fide
 God men of honour, þat wald to þe bataile bide ;
 Sir Robert of Somervile, and his eldest sonne,
 He held þe stoure a while, for dede ne wild he schonne ;
 And knyghtes t̄ fergeantz, noble men fulle couth,
 Of prowes fulle valiantz, boþe bi North t̄ South.
 Sir Hugh of Cressyngham in armes nouht ne deigh,
 For ridyng lauht he skam, out of his fadelle he fleih ;
 His stede ouer him ran, he lay vnder his fete,
 Þat sauh þe Scottis man, t̄ þer of wele he lete ;
 He t̄ other inowe, þat Sir Hugh wele knewe,
 I wene þei quik him flouh, t̄ his lymmes to hewe.
 Sir Marmeduk of Thuenge in þe felde bare þe flour,
 With þe Scottis gan he menge, t̄ stifly stode in stoure,

Fightand he couerd alle weys þe castelle of Striuelyn,
Maugre þe Waleys, Sir Marmeduk went in.

After þis bataile, þe Scottis fent ouer þe se
A boye of þer rascaile, quaynt and deguife ;
To Flandres bad him fare, þorgh burgh t cite,
Of Edward whore he ware bring þam certaynte.
And whan he com ageyn, he teld þam þis tiping,
Þat sothly and certayn dede was Edward þe kyng,
And to þat stede he ferd, þer he was laid in graue ;
Þe Scottis whan þei it herd, more joye ne bad thei haue.
To werre þan ros þei eft, tille God þei mad a vowe,
Þat no þing fuld be left, þat myght to Inglandd prowē,
Mercy fuld non haue, tille alle þei fuld do wo,
Kirke fuld no man faue, bot brenne þer in t flo ;
In Northumberland þer first þei bigan,
And alle þat com tille hand, þei slough t ouer ran.
To Flandres tille Edward tipinges men him fent,
Þat Scottis com in hard, þe North is nere alle brent,
And more falle zit be lorn, bot if we haf focoure.
Nouht stands þam biforn, toun, castelle, ne toure.
Þe kyng for þo tipinges was noyed greuossie ;
To conseil þe lordynges he cald þat wer him bi.
Whan þei had alle cast þer conseil vp t down,
Þe kyng was at þe last avised on þis refon,
Þat nede behoued him grante to clerke t baroun,
And hold þam þe couante of ilk peticioun.
Bi letter he þam fent t granted þer askyng,
Alle þat refon ment of ilk manner þing ;
Bi letter t bi mouth he praied þam of focoure,
And þat he myght t couth, þat wer to þer honoure ;
He granted at þer wille, if þei wild focoure him,
Ageyn þe Scottis ille, þat bere þam now to brim.

The bisskop of Canterbire perof payed was he,
For him and alle his schire þis gift gaf fulle fre,

To saue þe Pape statute, þat þem bihoued defende,
 Of holy kirkes frute he gaf þe kyng þe tende,
 Gadred with clerkis hand, ⁊ kept to þat viage,
 Wendand to Scotland, biteched it þe baronage,
 Þe lond forto faue, ⁊ holy kirkes dignite ;
 Þis grantid he þam to haue Roberd of Wynchelfe.
 Þe clergie of þe North þe fifte peny fuld gyue
 Whan þe barons ferd forth, in pes þat þei mot lyue,
 And grantid þam self at þe first gynnȳng,
 Whan þe kyng asked half of alle þer moble þing.
 Now er at on affent þe barons ⁊ þe clerkis,
 Þe Scottis hold þam schent, of þer conseil now herkis.
 Þe Scottis vnderstode, þat holy þe clergie
 Were alle in wille gode to help þe kynges partie,
 And þe barons also in luf with him wild dele,
 For he had grantid þer to þe Chartre for to fele,
 And after þat felȳng alle fuld þei come
 Þe barons ⁊ þe kyng, ⁊ tak of þam hard dome,
 What did þe Scottis þo ? bot þis conseil þei ches,
 To Striuelyn fuld þei go, in manere of pes,
 Sir Marmeduk bifeke his wrath forto afuage,
 And to þam mak him meke, for luf ⁊ for oftage.
 Þei fuore þer Christendam, if þat he wild com oute
 Withouten any gram tille [him] þei wild loute,
 Boþe loude ⁊ stille, in nesch ⁊ in hard,
 And to pes with gode wille zeld þam tille Edward.
 Sir Marmeduk out cam, he trosted on þer fayth ;
 To him ⁊ his þei nam, ⁊ smertly did þam grayth
 Toward^a Dun Bretayn, ⁊ him in prifon þer sperd,
 His frendes were vnfayn, for non wift how he ferd.
 Þei did þat trefon, if þam felle any chance,
 For him þei mot eftfon of þers make deliuerance.

^a Dunbretayn, vel Dunbrettayn.—*MSS. Gall.*

Þe clergie of þe South mad a disputefoun,
 And openly with mouth affigned gode refoun,
 Þat scape ne mot bifalle, ne forto wrath þe pape,
 Bot for him ʒ vs alle myght it better schape.
 In alle þis spekyng com þe Treforere
 Fro Edward our kyng, to schewe þe chartere here.
 He^o spac vnto þe clergie, “ ʒe barons þat here be,
 Þe kyng fulle curteillie gretis ʒow wele bi me,
 And fais, þat he wille Inglond alle efe,
 And þat ʒe ask in skille ʒour hertes forto pefe,
 Þe Chartre of Franchise confirm it ʒow he falle,
 And of þe first affise, as his fader gaf it alle.”
 Þe Chartre was red on hi in Westmýnstere, ʒ schewed,
 Ilk poynt bi ʒ bi, to lerid ʒ to lewed.
 Þe bisshop of Canterbire in comon alle o liche
 Schewed it in ilk schire alle his bischop riche.
 Whan þei þe Chartre in alle had schewed day bi day,
 Sir Roger þe erle Marschalle, of Herford þe erle Umfray,
 At ʒork þei tok on hand, þer parlement to fette ;
 Þe hie folk of ʒe land þer alle togidere mette.
 Þe erle Ion of Surray com with grete powere,
 Of Gloucestre stoute ʒ gay Sir Rauf þe Mohermere,
 And^p his wif dame Ione, whilom Gilberdes of Clare,
 Þo banerettis ilkone fro Douer to Durham ware.
 At þe kirke of Saynt Peter þe day of Saynt Agnes,
 Þe bisshop on his mitere of Carlele it fays.
 He stode vp in pulpite, þe office for to do,
 Þer Chartre he red it bituex þe erles tuo,

* Cil vers la clergie commença parler, Et a les barons issi [ve/ency] nouncier, A nous li Reis vos
 aires bee de gentyt qoer De sa seignorye, but Engleterre eysar, La chartre des franchises vous volt
 confermer, De la foreste le assise [ve/ lassise] amender, Cum jadis purnist le Roy Henry son peer. La
 chartre fu monstre et leu a Wemonster, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

^p One Jone sa Countesse la lige mulier, Et trestous ly altre qe portant baner, De Douer a Duresme i
 venent volonter, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

And curfed alle þo, þat þe Chartre brak,
 Or ftroied, or did ouht fro ony poynt þer in fpak.
 After þis fentence gyuen, tille armes alle þat myght,
 Was it no lenger dryuen, to Scotland alle þam dight.
 In alle Northumberland, þer þe Waleis had bene,
 Alle was in þe kynge's hand, þe Scottis wer non fene.

In alle þis nefch t̄ hard, euer lafted þe diftance
 Bituex k̄yng Edward t̄ þe k̄yng of France,
 Bot it was delaied tille a day certeyn
 Of right dome fet t̄ faid, how pes mot be pleyn.
 Þei confented boþe, þorgh confeil of þe pape,
 To pefe þam tuo wroþe, with fight he wild fchape.
 Þorgh mariages was hop̄yng of þe pes,
 Þat were certeyn ftages, þat boþe parties ches.
 Þe k̄yng on fuld haue, a may was in fp̄k̄yng,
 Tille his fonne fuld men faue Philip douhter zing.

In alle þis ordenance our k̄yng fent meffengers
 Þat k[n]ewe þe greaunce, wyfe men, barons, pers,
 Unto þe courte of Rome, þe pape to fchew þat cas,
 How wondere chances come, t̄ who did moft trefpas.
 Of Inglis t̄ Frankis who was moft culpable,
 In þe pape leues alle þis, to mak mende t̄ mak alle ftable.

To while pape Boniface duellid opon þis,
 To gyue dome þorgh grace, to mende bothe þer mys,
 Þe k̄yng tok his confaile, t̄ home to Ingland went.
 Gode wynde in his faile Jhefu Crifte him lent.
 Þe erles of Scotland þat atteynt wer of trefon,
 Þe k̄yng himfelf willand, deliuerd þam fro prifon.
 Þife wer of þer geft, as I kan names fynde,
 The erle of Menetefst was of Edward kynde,
 Þe erle of Afcetelle, Sir John þe Comyn,
 Badenauh fonne I telle, t̄ þretty of þer couyn,
 Alle þife t̄ wele mo atteynt of traytorie,
 Þe k̄yng lete þam go of his curteifie,

Withouten filuere or golde, or any oper treuage,
 Þer penance was, þei fuld go in pilgrimage.
 Here of þis wikked hals, þat our kýng gaf leue,
 To France þei zede þo fals, to Philip wild þei cheue,
 Bifouht him of focoure t̄ auancement,
 To maynten þam in stoure, þei mad hir^r þer present,
 Scotlond of him to hold euer withouten ende,
 If he in luf wold as lord vnto þam lende.

Philip gaf respons, t̄ bad þam go þer way
 “Ze ere foles Bretons, disceit is þat ze say.
 Þe pape me defendes with bulle þat bindis hard,
 To renne on þo landes þat longes tille Edward.
 To whils þat oure trewe duellis on jugement,
 For me falle neuer be newe no fals compassement.”
 Confused þei went away þat fals companie,
 Þei failed of þer pray, to hauen gan þei hie,
 And hired þam a schip, gaf filuere largelie,
 To Scotlond gan þei skip, þe wýnde was þam redie.

Edward vnderstode, þorgh oft herýng say,
 How þe fals blode compassed tene t̄ tray.
 He mad his pilgrimage to Saynt Thomas of Kent,
 Sipe north on his viage to Beuerley he went,
 Bifor Saynt Jon he woke a nyght or he þien nam,
 To Jorke þe gate he toke, t̄ fouht Saynt William.
 Saynt Cutbert he fouht, to help him at his nede
 Sipe he dred him nouht, northward als he zede.
 Northward in his weie he held his parlement,
 To speke t̄ to purueie to be of on assent,
 To Scotlond forto go, to take vengement
 Of þam his folk did slo, destroyed his tenement,
 And how þei were alle lorn, þat com to þat couent.
 For þei were forfuorn, vengeance on þam went.

* There is a little stroke over the i in the MS., which shows that *him* is to be read.

Þe date was a þousand, þre hundred alle bot one,
 At Foukirke in Scotlond, Scottis escapid none.
 On þe Maudeleyn day, a litelle bifor Lammesse,
 Of Scotlond ⁊ Galway com mykelle folk alle fresse,
 Of þe Marche ⁊ þe Ildes, a spere þei fuld bring,
 Þei com þe lond to schilde, to Faukyrke in þe mornýng.
 Our Inglis men ⁊ þei togidere mette,
 Þer formaft conrey, þer bakkis togidere sette,
 Þer speres poynt ouer poynt, so fare ⁊ so pikke
 And fast togidere joýnt, to se it was ferlike.
 Als a castelle þei stode, þat were walled with ston,
 Þei wende no man of blode þorgh þam fuld haf gone.
 Þer folk was so mykelle, so stalworth ⁊ so clene,
 Þer foýntes forward prikelle, nonhut wild þei wene.
 Þat if alle Ingland fro Berwik vnto Kent,
 Þe folk þerin men fond had bein þider sent,
 Stength fuld non half had, to perte þam þorgh oute,
 So wer þei fet sad with poyntes rounde aboute.
 Þe kyng sauh þam comand so sadly in þe mede,
 His folk he did with stand, ⁊ dight þam alle to dede,
 Sipeu he to þam said, " Go we þer God vs spede."
 Þer lances alle forth laid, ⁊ ilk man broched his stede,
 Þei sauh kýnge's banere, raumpand þre lebardes,
 Þer hors folk alle plenere, þei fled as fals cowardes.
 Þo fotefolk left alon, if þei wild stand or fle,
 Help had þei non, of þam þer hed fuld be.
 Þus þe Waleis wrouht, ⁊ said þan þis be skille
 " To þe reuge ere 3e brouht, hop now if 3e wille."
 Þer scheltron sone was shad with Inglis þat were gode,
 Pite of non þei had, bot alle to dede zode,
 Als fleihes down þei fleih, ten þousand at ones,
 To stand non ne deggh, bot felle down als stonnes.
 Bituex prime ⁊ none alle voide was þe place ;
 Þe bataile slayn ⁊ done alle within þat space.

Was no man Inglis maynhed no dede þat day,
 Bot a templer of pris, Sir Brian þe Geay,
 Maister templere he was on þis half þe fe,
 He folowed þe Scottis pas, whan þei bigan to fle,
 Fer in tille a wod, men calle it Kalenters,
 Þer in a mire a mod, withouten helpe of fers,
 Slouh þei Sir Brian alon wipouten mo.
 Allas ! þat douhty man, þat he so fer fuld go !
 Þe Walsch folk þat tide did nouþer ille no gode,
 Þei held þam alle bi fide, oþon a hille þei stode,
 Þer þei stode þat while, tille the bataile was don ;
 Was neuer withouten gile Walsch man no Breton.
 For þei were euer in wehere, men so of þam told,
 Whilk was best banere, with þat fide forto hold.
 Saynt Bede fais it for lore, ⁊ I say it in ryne,
 Walsch man falle neuer more luf Inglis man no tyme.

After þis bataile þe kyng turned ageyn,
 Ouer þat fals pedaile he ordeynd a wardeyn
 Þat held þam in fuilk awe, þei durft no more rise,
 Þorgh smerthed of þe law he did þam justife.
 He zared his wendýng, to London gan him rape,
 Þider him com tþing, lettres fro þe pape,
 And bad þat he fuld take þe kyng sifter of France,
 For Gascoyn pes to make þorgh þat aliance,
 Not dame Blanche þe fuete, þat I first of spake,
 Bot dame Margarete, gode withouten lak.
 Þe pape's maundement he resceyued curtasly,
 Bi time þat it were ent he dight þerto redy,
 In purueiance of alle as he had most to don
 So com þe erle Marfchalle baitand to London ;
 Of Herford þe erle Umfray also com he þidere,
 And oþer barons of nobleý, ⁊ alle samned togidere.
 Þe erle for þam alle with luf bisouht þe kyng,
 Of poýntis behoued falle, do þam at þer praying.

" Withoute any delay do make þe purale
 Be a certeyn day, Sir, þat pray we þe."
 Þe kyng wild his myght delaied it were alle weys,
 Notheles femand bi fight his anfuere was curteys.
 He schewed þe erle Rogere þe papes mandement
 He myght on no manere do nouht or it were ent,
 Bot he fuore on his fayth t̄ certeynly þan hete,
 Whan it were don in grayth, þe weddyng of Margarete,
 To mak þe purale, it fuld not be delaied,
 With fuilk men fuld it be, þat þei fuld hald þam paied.
 So faire with his respons, so faithfulle þei bifemed,
 Boþe erles t̄ barons, his wordes alle þei quemed,
 Þe erle Umfray þat was, for euer tok his leue,
 Þe dede him sleuh, allas ! tille his pers it gan greue.

The pape þan fent his bulle vnt Philip of France,
 Þe curte of Rome fulle has ordand aliance,
 Þat þe kyng Edward fuld wed Margarete,
 And in þat ilk forward, þer werryng fuld þei lete
 For euer in Gascoyn of alle maner of skille ;
 Without any effoyn, Philip grantid þer tille.
 Philip for þat may mad purueiance redy
 With folk of gode aray to Douer com in hy,
 And þer oure Inglis men resceyued fulle miry,
 Þe barons alle with blis brouht hir to Canterbiri,
 And as þe courte of Rome had ordeynd þat spoufale,
 Right upon þat dome he wedded hir sanz faile.
 Robert of Wynchelfe, þat corseynt is verray,
 Did þat solempnite opon a Wednesday
 Next þe lattere fest þat is of oure Lady.
 Þe Wednesday formeft þe kyng had fulle grete hy,
 For on þe morn he went his way toward Scotland,
 With ille auifement he did, t̄ þat he fand.
 Whan he was in þe Marche he samned his ofte,
 Þan was it bot a parche, t̄ litelle with þe lofte.

For him felf alone toke þat viage,
 Help asked he none of alle his baronage,
 Þat was for þe purale, þat he had þam hette,
 He wild not do þer gre, þat terme þat he sette.
 Þe Scottis wift þat wele, ⁊ schewed him þe vis,
 Þer fide was ilk a dele in poynt to wynne þe pris.
 Boldely þei bed bataile with visage fulle austere,
 Þe kyng's fide gan faile, for he had no powere.
 Ferrere mot he nouht, Scotlond forto fe,
 Þat tyme no þyng he wrouht, bot spendid his mone.
 Þe Marche vnder wardeyn he left als it was ore,
 Unto þe fouth ogeyn he went, ⁊ did no more.
 Whi þat he not sped, þis skille mot it be,
 With haulon þam led, to mak þe purale.

The kyng after þe Pask his messengere fent,
 For þe bisschopes askis to com to þe parlament,
 For erles ⁊ barons, at London fuld it be,
 Four knyghtes be somons chofen in ilk counte.
 First þe nemnid alle þe, þe purale fuld make,
 Þat þorgh þe reame fuld go, þe boundes forto stake.
 Whan it were brouht tille ende, ⁊ stabled ⁊ sette,
 To gyue þe penie tuentende þe kyng þer þei hette,
 Þis was þe toþer refon, men þan fuld þei zare
 For þe lond of Gascon, to Rome forto fare,
 To wite at þe pape why he mad delay,
 Þe tyme he wild not rape, no set a certeyn day,
 Þat Edward fuld haue þe lond of Gascoun,
 His feignorie to faue, als it was refoun.
 Now was þis þe pridde of þat parlement,
 For chance þat him bitidde, þe kyng þus þam bifent.
 " I praie 3ow in þis nede, to help me with 3our ofte
 Þe Scottis on me bede, I wild abate þer bofte."
 To maynten his partie þei hete to help him wele,
 He aiorned þam to relie in þe north at Carlele,

After midesomer's tide þorgh comon ordinance,
 No lenger fuld þei bide, bot forth ʔ stand to chance.
 Norreis ʔ Surreis, þat feruise auht þe kȳng,
 With hors ʔ herneis at Carlele mad samnȳng.
 Þe erle Marschalle Rogere no hele þat tȳme mot haue,
 He went* with his banere fir Ion þe Segraue,
 To do alle þo feruise þat longed þe office tille,
 And maȳntend alle þe prife, þer he sauh lawe ʔ skille.
 Þe quene Margarete with childe þan was sche,
 Þe kȳng bad hir not lete, bot com to þe north cuntre.
 Unto Brotherton, on wherfe þer scho was,
 And lighter of a sonne, þe child hight Thomas.
 Whan þe kyng herd saȳ, sho had so wele farn,
 Þider† he went way, to se hir ʔ hir barn,
 And with hir he foiornd, tille sho was purified,
 Þan eft ogayn he turned, ʔ tille his oft hied.
 Þe quene with hir sonne at Cawod leues she,
 Tille tȳme com eftson on Ouse fulle ese.

At Karlele is þe kȳng with erles ʔ barons,
 Þer þei mad spekyng to renne on þer felons.
 Bot som of þam þat ware conseild oper manere,
 Þorgh pastours forto fare, for bestes to lardere.
 Men said þer were mowe in mores ʔ in medis,
 “ And, if ȳe wille, we mowe of bestis do gode nedis.”
 Þe cuntre herd it feie, þe folk of ilk a schire
 Had þer bestis aweie þorgh mede ʔ þorgh mire,
 Þat no strange man knewe, ne mȳght so go,
 Þer to þe rayne bigan, ʔ flowand bank ʔ bro.
 It ran doun on þe mountayns, ʔ drenkled þe playne,
 Sir Edward sauh þo^a paynes, ʔ tok þe gate agayn,
 Þe more h² forfoke, þe fote men ilk a flok,
 A pouere hamlete toke, þe castelle Karelauerok.

* Perhaps we should read “sent.”

^a Ly Reis vers Escoce son chemyn reprant, La Reyne oue son fis a Cawode atent Sure Owse la
ryuer assez esement.—*MSS. Gall.*

^b Sic.

^c L. he.

In alle þis gret pres praied þe kýng of France
 Þe Scottis fuld haf þes þorgh Edward sufferance.
 Vnto þe messengere, þat Philip to him fent,
 He gaf þe treus a zere, t þan to London went.
 Feyntife, lipt duellýng, on mornes long to lie,
 Surfeýte in euenýng, t luf of liccherie,
 Affiance of feloun, of enmys haf pite,
 Wille without refoun, confeile of wise men fle,
 Wynnýng forta hold, t gyue not largely,
 Þe Bretons men of told, forfoke fuilk party.
 Of Arthure men fay, þat rede of him in pas,
 Alle tymes in medle euer more first he was,
 Mornýng t euenýng, sobre t honest ;
 Felons þat wild him greue, or enmys þat mad chest,
 Als he was worpi had he jugement
 Had he of non merci, for praiere no present.
 At conseil t at nede he was a skilfulle kýng,
 So curteis of non men rede, ne prince of more praying
 Was non in Cristendam, als he was in his tyme,
 Ne fuilk on zit non cam þat man may mak of rýme.
 I told zow þis refoun, t for ensample sette,
 If þe kyng wild haf don þe purale als he hette,
 Þorghput Inghland, enselid t with scrite,
 Bi tyme had mad þat bond, t drawen it not o lite,
 It had bien his heires prowe, þe lond had bien alle his,
 Long tyme or now, þat now in auenture is.
 Þe date a þousand was, t þre hundred euen,
 At Lincoln þe parlement was in Lyndefay t Kestuen.
 At þe Pask afterward his parlement set he,
 Þe gode kyng Edward, at Lyncoln his cite,
 At Sant Katerine hous þe erle Marschalle lay,
 In þe brode gate lay þe Brus, erle was he þat day.
 Þe kýng lay at Netilham, it is þe bisshope's toun.
 And oper lordes þer cam in þe cuntre vp t down.

Erles ⁊ barons at þer first samnyng,
 For many maner refons pleyned of þe kȳng,
 Ðat þe purale did not als he fuld,
 Ne þer chartre gaf fre, þe poyntes vse ne wuld,
 Ne suffre þam to hold, þat þe chartre of spake,
 Þorgh mayntenours bold, þe poyntes alle þei brake.
 Zit þei said him tille, his ministres wasted þe lond,
 Tak þing out of skille, ⁊ pay not with hond.
 And zit þei mad pleynt of his Tresorere,
 Ðat fele þinges atteynt he mayntend þorgh powere,
 Fordos vsages olde, ⁊ lawes of þe chekere,
 “ Of many has it bien holde, to þe we pleyn vs here,
 Him forto remue þorgh comon assent,
 Assigne it for more prow at þis parlement,
 Ðat can þat office guye, ⁊ do þe ryght vsage,
 Ðat no man thar eft crie, for wrong ⁊ outrage.”
 Þe kynges anfuere was smert ⁊ said, “ I see þe wille
 Þorgh pride of hert, reuile me with vnskille,
 And so lowe me to chace, mȳn officers to change,
 And mak þam at zour grace, þat were me ouer strange.
 It is non of zow, þat he ne wille at his mȳght,
 Haf fergeanz for his prow, withouten oper fight.
 Salle no man put þorgh skille his lord lowere þan he,
 Ne I ne falle, no wille, to while I kyng falle be.
 If any of mȳn mad strife, or tak þing not right,
 Stiward or balife, schewe þer wrong þorgh fight :
 Ðat wrong I wille so mende, if þat it be atteynt,
 Ðat non thar com no fende to courte to mak eft pleynt.
 Þe chartre þorgh refoun ⁊ þe purale
 Þei fordo my croune, if þei granted be

† La chartre des franchises et du puraler, Deffront ma coroune, si ieo les day granter, La quale
 ouesk moy vous devez en moy susport, Qele ne soit blamy par prise ne par prier. Par qai ieo vous
 graunte le draut examiner Par .xxvi. descrez, qe voyssent iorer, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

Þe whilke ze falle t̄ ouh to maynten with me,
 To mak it leffe no louh, ne peired falle it be.
 Of þis I grant to morn, þat ze trie þis þing,
 With sex t̄ tuenti fuorn, if I to 3our askyng
 May accorde right wele, þe coroune forto faue
 Dismembred not a dele, 3our askyng falle ze haue.
 A noþer I am withoute of penie in treforie,
 In lond withouten doute falle help me a partie."

The wifest of þe clergie, with erles t̄ barons,
 Togider went to trie of þer petitions.
 Þo sex t̄ tuenti zede þat were fuorn þer tille
 Of ilk doute t̄ drede þei said t̄ fet þe skille ;
 Discharged wille þei be of þe grete oth þei fuore,
 Perille forto fle, þe poyntes were so store.
 Þe sent ageyn t̄ said to kyng, " It was no haunte
 Of certeyn fette t̄ laid, to trechet þer couaunte ;
 No tille prince no kyng it is no maner told,
 To mak eft lokyng, ne deme þat dere was fold.
 Sir, fairere þe wore, graunte vs þy curteýfie,
 Þan parties pinched more, þe auantage fet so hie,
 Þat þou may gyue with right, whan þou wille t̄ how,
 Þat falle not be þorgh fight demed of leffe þan þou.
 Put þe not so louh, to demē þi power fre,
 3eld us þat þou ouh, t̄ we falle luf þe,
 And ferue þe we wille alle at þin avis,
 And help þe at skille, to renne on þin enmýs."
 He sent þam bode ageyn, schortely to say t̄ here,
 Þer prayere was in veyn, to ese þam in no manere ;
 His wille t̄ his auise, þat þe asked certeyn.
 Þei zede be partise, disputed þer ageyn.
 Þe parties were so felle altercand on ilk fide,
 Þat non þe soth couth telle, whedir pes or werre fuld tide.

M

Bot God þat is of myght, ʒt may help whan he wille,
 For boþe þe parties dight, ʒt put þam in þis skille,
 Ðat or Michelmesse þei fuld reise to þe kýng
 Ðe fiftend penie no leffe, for þer Chartre selýng,
 And for þe purale, fet with certeýn bounde,
 Ðorgh þe lond fuld be delaied no lengere stounde.
 Oñ þat þei grantid, ʒt abatid alle þer þro,
 Whan þe kýng wild þam calle, to Scotlond fuld þei go.
 ʒit our messengers^a for Gascoýn were at Rome,
 Foure lordes fulle fers, to here þe papas dome,
 Ðer foure at Rome ware, to arefon þe pape,
 Ðe right forto declare, ʒt for þe parties so schape,
 To whom þe right fuld be of Gascoýn euer ʒt ay,
 And þorgh his decre þe pes pronunce a day.
 Ðe pape Boniface tok Philip messengers,
 And ours in o place, sette þam to mete als pers,
 And preched to þam alle, als þei fat in fere,
 “ Lordyng, þus falle falle, as I falle say here.
 Men say in ʒour tuo londes ere men of grete refoun,
 And wele vnderfondes, ʒt knowes þer enchefoun.
 Ðo ilk men so wise fuld go, ʒt enforme ʒour kýnges,
 Withouten mo justife or trauaile of oper lordýnges.
 Ðerfore gos ageýn, ʒt tille ʒour kýnges say,
 Bot þei with luf certeýn accorde in euen way,
 And if þei ne do, be saynt Petir of Rome,
 Oure courte falle ordeýn so on þam so hard dome,
 At þe next feste þat comes of S. Andrew,
 Ðat þei ʒt alle þer geste þat dome falle doute ʒt rew.”
 Ðe messengers þei zede, bare þei with þam no more ;
 I turne ageýn to rede of þe parlement we spak ore.

^a Sic.

The kȳng gaf his fonne at þe parlement
 Wales in to wonne, ⁊ Chestreshire to rent.
 Muftrelle^a ⁊ Pountif, þat er bizond þe fe,
 Prince he was vp rif, ⁊ erle also was he.
 Of him þat held þer londes þei mad him alle homage,
 To Scotlond now he fondes, to redy his viage,
 With þretti þoufand Walfh redy at his banere ;
 Erles ⁊ barons als, boþe knyght ⁊ squiere,
 Alle com to Carlele, to confeil how were best,
 To paffe þe Scottis fe wele, to tak to ward þe weft.
 His fader also zede, ⁊ chefe^b þe eft fide,
 At Berwik opon Tuede, his oft did þer bide.

Als þei were alle plenere to counfeil ⁊ to fchape,
 So com a meffengere fro Boniface þe pape,
 Þe biſſhop of Spolete, with a newe ordinance ;
 A noþer him gan mete, comand fro þe kȳng of France.
 I herd neuer telle, for what maner difcert,
 Þer on I moſt nede duelle, tille it com out aperte.
 Þe^c kyng has þe letter in hand to trowe þat þei faid,
 Þe werying in Scotland now is delaied ⁊ laid.
 Ho com to Linlifcow, ⁊ did þer crie his pes,
 And teld his barons how þat nede behoued him fes.
 Siþen he ⁊ his fonne turned toward þe fouth,
 Þe Marche als it was wonne keped wardeȳns couth.
 Þe turned to London of þe treus to ſpeke,
 And feȳpleȳ þerto bondon, on no manere to breke.
 Unto þe terme for told of faȳnt Andrewmeffe,
 Þe pape did him hold, with gode fikerneffe.

^a Et Pountif et Monstroylle, oue lonour qe apent, Le fis est Prince et Count, e les homages prent,
ꝑc. MSS. Gall.

^b For "chefe" we should probably read "chese," i. e. selected.

^c Resceu ad ly reis la lettre de creance, Et ly messagers entendu la sustaunce. Sa gwere sur
 Escoco ad mys en suffraunce, A Lynliscou reuent son fis saunz tariaunce, *ꝑc. MSS. Gall. nisi quod
 saunz desit in Cod. Austisiano.*

Þe pape fet þat terme, for his hopýng was
 Þe pes þei fuld afferme, for drede of hardere kas.
 Kýng^{ee} Philip of France had erle William
 Achefon for a chance, I ne wote whi it cam.
 Charles to William hette he fuld him fauely lede
 Unto þe parlement sette ageyn withouten drede ;
 Whan William was comen, t wende no trefoun,
 Sone was he nomen, t don in prifoun.
 Now is þe erle þus schent, bondon in iren t stele,
 Philip to Flandres sent, t fefid it ilk a dele,
 And mad fuilk wardeýns in his name to be ;
 Destroied al þe geýns, þat þei mot find or fe,
 Defoules þer wýues, þer douhtres lay bi,
 Þer lordes flouh with knýues, of fo had þei merci.
 Þe tounes spak of þis, þe folk gadred aboute,
 To renne on þe Frankis þe fanned gret route ;
 Þei folowed on þam hard þorgh out þat cuntre,
 Þat Frankis t Pikard alle were fajn to fle.
 Þo þat fleih þei ferd vnto þe kýng of France,
 Þe kýng he it herd, tak he wille vengeance.
 Of knýght t of burgeis an ofte he did relie,
 Bitauht it þe erle of Arteýs, þat ofte for to guýe.
 He did þer no prow, he was first was down,
 A^d foule herlote him flowe, trut for his renoun ;
 And oþer withouten numbir, þer names I may not telle,
 Alle þei zede tille encumbir, t er went to helle.
 Of^e Huneys er þei clene, Pikard t Burgoilloun,
 Of Bascel t Viene, of Braban t Bretoun ;
 Þat tyme no at a noþer had þe Frankis no foifoun,
 Þei t alle þe toþer þe Flemmynges laid þam down.

^{ee} Luy quens Gyllam de Flandres, vers qi contencioun Ly Rey de Fraunce auoit, par sodayn achasoun, Vilement estait trahy par Charloun, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

^d Un ribaud li tuayt saunz confessioun, *Gall.*

^e Ne Normaund, ne Pikard, ne le Burgylloun, Ne Vienays, ne Bascle, ne Braban, ne Bretouns, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

Þat schame has zit non ende, no þat vpbraidyng
 Þat on France falle lende, for falsnes of þer kýng.
 Now falle we turne ageýn tille our owen leffoun,
 Whan Charles courte is pleýn, I gýue it mý malifoun.
 Þe date was euenlik a þoufand þre hundred ʒ tuo,
 Whan^f þe erle of Karrik turned þe Scottis fro.
 Sir Umfrey Boun þe kyng^s his wife wedded þat zere,
 Edward douhter þe kýng, Elizabeth þat clere.
 In alle þise spekýnges men zede þat were wise
 Bituexen þise tuo kýnges, þat no contek fuld rife,
 Bot contene forth þe trew vnto þe Paskes terme
 Fro þe Saýnt Andrew, so long þe pes to afferme.
 Of þis þe kýng of France praied fir Edward,
 Þat with his sufferance ʒ leue in forward
 Suffre þe Scottis to go, þat men þat he for sent ;
 Þe kyng tille alle þo gaf leue ʒ þei alle went.
 For perille of fuilk goýnges þe kýng purueied to go,
 Sir Jon of Haftýnges he was first of þo,
 And fir Emerý þe Brette, to Golcoýn^s forto wende,
 To bide þe terme fette, þe treus how it fuld ende.
 Þe^b Inglis men were wone to werý long traýne,¹
 Dishonour haf þei aý of þer long respite,
 I spak þis for a day, þe Scottis affailed þam tite,
 Our men in Scotland with fautes fodeýnlý,
 Þe Segraue mýght not stand, fir Jon tok the gaýn ftie.
 His sonne ʒ his broþer of bedde als þei woke,
 And sextene knýghtes oþer, þe Scottis alle þam toke.

^f Le Comte de Karryk les Escots werpist, As gens le rey Edward de gre se rendist. Ly quens Vumfray de Boune cel an a femme prist La fylle al rey Edward, Elizabeth est dist, &c. *Gall.*

^s "Ying," (?)

^s *Sic.*

^b Nos Englays crioums, laschese sait maldist, [vel, soit maudit] Kar qaunt al mels ferir [vel, a meuz ferrir,] plus auoms delit. Deshonour nous veent [vel, vunt] et pert par respit, Jeo parle pur Lescot, qe laltre assaylist, Nos Englays en Ecoce par assautu bit. Sire Jon de Segrane son che-myn reppist, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

¹ It is obvious that a line is here omitted.

Sergeantz wele pritty alle zald þam þat while,
 On þei slouh smertly, fir Thomas de Neuile.
 Sir Rauf þe Coffers þat tyme was Treforere,
 He was on of þe pers, his life was alle in wehere ;
 He bed grete catelle, his lif forto faue,
 Sir Symon þe Frefelle þat ilk catelle fuld haue.
 Sýmon was austere, to Rauf spak fulle grim :
 “ Þat mad þe Treforere þou has deseýued him,
 And me t̄ maný mo, fro our wages zede quite.
 Sir Rauf þou reseýued þo, bi taile t̄ bi scrite,
 Þou did us more trauaile, ilk man þou rest his wage ;
 Now falle I wite þe taile, t̄ put þe in þe arerage,
 Of preste þou has no merke, albe ne non amite,
 Bot laced in a hauberke, þal is no clerkis abite.
 For alle þo clerkes of Rome, þat sing in kirk or rede,
 Þou falle haf þi dome, als þou serued in dede.”
 A^u boye fulle pautenere he had a fuerd þat bote,
 He stirte vnto þe Cofrere, his handes first of smote ;
 And fro þe body his heued a dýnt þan did þe cleue,
 His werryng so he leued, at armes he tok leue.

In alle þis mykelle frape wex a grete distance
 Of Boniface þe pape, t̄ þe kyng of France
 Þe kyng said t̄ did crie, þe pape was heretike,
 Usure t̄ symonie, t̄ fynne fodomike,
 Errid mislyuýng, haunted Maumetrie,
 Waftid kirkis þing, t̄ lýued in bugerie,
 And was worþi to schende boþe soule t̄ lýf,
 To die withouten ende, þis mad þe kýng vp rýf.
 Pape Boniface herd telle of þat crie,
 He did bifor his face com holy þe clergie,
 To conseil what were best for þat vilanie
 Þat þei ageýn him kest, said on him herefie.

^u Le Cofrere vn ribaud maintenant saisist, Les mayns ly copayt, la teste ly partist, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

Þis conseile alle þei said, " Lat it zit rest t̄ slepe,
 Þis fame of zow is laid, þo^k wise men þat were zepe.
 Wite, if he wille avowe alle his wikked sawe,
 Or amend t̄ bowe, þer on behoues vs drawe."
 Þe pape oñ þat couenaunt, he said, he wild so wirke,
 Þe amendis if he wild graunt to God t̄ holy kirke ;
 And if he wild nouht com to amendement,
 Alle France suld be brouht tille encumberment,
 Þorgh comon enterdite, t̄ þorgh croiferie,
 Als lond þat is alle quite fro God on ilk partie.
 After falle ze here þe ende of þis folie,
 Turne we tille our matere t̄ on our gest to hie.
 Þe date a þousand was, þre hundred mo bi þre,
 Þe kyng did grete trespas, diffamed þe papes se.
 In þe next somerestide fir Edward had haste,
 No lenger wild he bide Scotland for to waste.
 Conseil he had of on, a brigge he suld do wrihte,
 Botes t̄ barges ilkon, with flekes mak þam tichte,
 Þe Scottis se to passe, if þat he had nede ;
 Þer passage neuer ore wasse, he rode ouer on his stede.
 Þe Scottis sauh him com, fleand fast þei zede,
 Mores t̄ mountayns nom, bifore þei dryue for drede.
 Þe kyng did parte his oste, to sprede in parties fere,
 West alle bi þat coste zede þe erle of Huluestere.
 Þe¹ k̄ynges oste at gesse in þe est mad lardere,
 Of tounes t̄ hameleffe, of granges t̄ garner,
 More t̄ mede did r̄ynce, wod t̄ playn he brent ;
 Þe same way þe prin̄ce destroyed þer he went.
 So fer northward he ferde, þe Scottis to chace,
 Of Inglis no man herde, þat euer k̄yng had þat grace,
 So fer baner to bere, t̄ fulk oste forto lede,
 No wasted with no werre, þe cuntres gan þam drede,

¹ F. thro. ¹ Luy Rey vers lorient enprent son aler, Hamelez et villes, graunges et gerner,
 Et playnes e voydes par tote fet arder, &c. MSS. Gall.

Saue kȳng Athelstan, þat wasted alle Cateneffe.
 Sȳpen was no man, þat fo fer mad streffe.
 Þe tounes, þe countes, þe foreȳns alle aboute,
 To þe kȳng felle on knes, his powere did þam loute,
 Un to his pes þam zald, feaute did him fuere,
 Treuly with him to hald, non armes ageȳn him bere.
 Be þat þe werre was ent wȳnter was þer zare,
 To Dounfermelȳn he went, for rest wild he þare.
 For þe quene he sent, ʒ scho did dight hire chare,
 Fro Cawod scho glent, to Dounfermelȳn to fare.
 Þe lord of Badenauh, Frefelle ʒ Waleis,
 Lyued at þeues lauh, euer robband alle weis ;
 Þei had no sustenance, þe werre to maȳntene,
 Bot skulked opon chance ʒ robbed aȳ bituene.
 Þei com vnto þe kȳng, for pes if it mot tide
 Opon þer askȳng, he iorned þam to bide ;
 Men bred for þat iorne, þei fuld haf had þe pes,
 For eft þan fuld men se, bigȳn alle new þe res.
 In þat zere it fais, þe pape had grete despote
 Þorgh þe Columpneis,^m Cardinalles of habite ;
 Þei were born in Rome all þe Columpneis,
 Þat kȳnde bare þe blome, riche men ʒ curteis,
 Men said alle þat kȳnde had whilom þe dignite,
 If clerke of þam mȳght fȳnde, pape fuld he be ;
 Þus þan was þe fawe whilom in þat cite.
 Þe pape fordid þat lawe, þe skille can I not se.
 Cardinals were þei, þe pape did þam down,
 And exiled þam awei, ʒ mad destruȳtioun
 Of londes ʒ feez, þer kastels down he cast,
 And alle þer dignitez, ne lengere fuld þei last,
 Grete was þat linage ʒ maȳȳ to þam cheued,
 And of þat ilk outrage þe fest þam fore agreued.

^m See Platina, *De Vitis Pontificum Rom.*, p. 231. Col. Agrip. M.DC.XXVII. See likewise Lassels's *Voyage of Italy*, part I., p. 246. Paris, 1670. Ed. 2d.

Þat þe pape did þam reuile, of þo in Rome þat wore,
 Went vnto Cezile, þore help þei fond wele more.
 Þe kýng of France þidere fent þam help inouh,
 Þer kýnde ⁊ þei togidere vntille Anaýne þei drouh,
 Þer þe Columpne kýnde þe pape forfoth þei toke,
 Trefore þat þei mot fýnde with þam away þei fchoke.
 Tuo^a days þe pape withouten mete laý,
 Þe þrid day com grete frape, ⁊ conged him away;
 Of alle þat grete trefoure þat euer he biwan,
 Als bare was his toure as Iob, þe pouere man.
 Men fais he gaf pardoun, affoiled þam of pýne,
 Þat with deuocioun brouht him brede or wýne;
 Grete pite it was, þat þe hede of Criftendam
 Suld for aný trespas take so foule a scham.
 Wele I wote alle fraýed he went fro þat cite
 Vnto Rome mispayed to þe papas se.
 He cursed þe kýng of France, ⁊ alle þat with him held,
 Þat did him þat mischance, ageyn him reifed scheld;
 He lýued bot þre days, ⁊ died sone þei faid,
 Þe soner for þat affraýs; at Petir Kirke is he laid.
 Now haf we bulle certeyn, a newe pape Benet,
 Þat calles þer ageyn, þat Boniface fet,
 Affoyles alle bi name, þe robbours þorgh grace,
 Þat did despite ⁊ schame to pape Boniface.
 Who may now in Rome haf any fikerneffe,
 Þat þer is hieft dome, ⁊ zit vncerteýn es?
 Þat Boniface bond with sentence so brim,
 Eft men Benet fond, þat he affoiled him.
 He^o is fole þat affies in þe Courte of Rome,
 Comes a noþer ⁊ bies, ⁊ fordos þat dome.

^a Le Pape saunz viaunde fu .ii. iours en subit, Par eyde suruenaunt le terce iour issist, [vel assit.] MSS. Gall.

^o Molt est sotz et fous, en Rome qe ceo fist, Pur quant posse dare, a graunt et a petit, Par fare et par defare Rome nus derist, Ho la de choses par de ca dalyer nous suffist, [in the French copy that belongs to the Herald's office, but in Mr Anstis's,] Mult est fort et fous en Rome qe ceo fit, Pro quanto posse dare, a grant et a petit, Bo la de chose par de cea dalier nous fit.

*Pur quante posse dare, what þing ʒ how mykelle,
Pur fare et defare, Rome is now fulle fikelle.*

Turne we now oper weys vnto our owen geste,
And speke of þe Waleys, þat lies in þe foreste ;
In þe forest he lendes of Dounfermelyn.
He praied all his frendes ʒ oper of his kyn,
After þat ʒole þei wilde bifeke Edward,
Þat he mot him zelde tille him in a forward
Þat were honorable to kepe wod or beste,
And with his scrite fulle stable ʒ feled at þe lest,
To him ʒ alle hife to haf in heritage,
And not oper wife, als terme, tyme ʒ stage,
Bot als a propire þing, þat were conquest tille him.
Whan þei brouht þat tiping, Edward was fulle grim
And bitauht him þe fende, als his traytoure in lond,
And euer ilkon his frende, þat him fusteynd or fond.
Þre hundreth marke he hette vnto his warifoun,
Þat with him so mette, or bring his hede to toun ;
Now flies William Waleis, of pes nouht he spedis,
In mores ʒ mareis with robberie him fedes.

Here now how þei sped, þe Scottis in his mercie,
Þe Frefelle first fled, out taken on þer partie ;
Tuo zere out of kith, in strange reame fuld be,
Þe þrid fuld he haf grith, ageyn to haf his fe ;
Þe toper alle fuld haue bope lif ʒ lymmes,
And þer tenement faue, bot raunfon of þam nunn es.
Raunfon fuld þei gyue after þer folie,
And in his pes to lyue, ʒ haf þer manauntie.
Sipen in þe Lenten tide he went to Saýnt Andrew,
About on ilk a fide did crie his pes alle new ;
Þe bisskop of Glascow þe clergie alle out ches,
Þe best men ʒ trew, ʒ com vnto þe pes.
Þe kýng was so curteis, he granted þam þer wille,
Saue þe amendes he fais raunfon for þer ille,

And suld be bot right bifor þe baronie,
 And at þe comon fight of alle þer clergie.
 After þe Pask fone þe kȳng did make alle zare,
 Ðat þis ofte were bone to Striuelyn to fare;
 Whan þei were alle comen, þei zede about to fe,
 How it mot be nomen, ȓ þe engȳnes fet suld be.
 Thrittene gret engȳnes, of alle þe reame þe best,
 Brouht þei to Striuelyne, þe kastelle doun to keft.
 Tuo knȳghtes were þer in, þe castelle had in warde,
 Sir William of Depplȳn, Sir William Olifarde,
 And^p tuentie of honour without page ȓ portere,
 And a frere prechoure, a monke þe conseilere;
 Ðer was with in þrittene maȳdens ȓ ladies,
 And no mo men to mene, þat felle to telle of pris.
 An engȳn had þei þer in, ȓ profred for to kast,
 Ðe zerde braft in tuȳn, to help mot it not laft.
 Ðe engȳns with oute, to kast were þei fette,
 Wallis ȓ kirkels stoute þe stones doun bette.
 Ðe kȳng did mak rȳght zare an hidous engȳn,
 Ðe name þei called Ludgare or Lurdare of Striuelyn.
 Whan þei keft þerto, þe walle þorghout þei clef,
 And non oþer did so bifor him alle doun dref.
 Ðre monethes ȓ þre daȳs þe sege so long þei teld,
 Fulle ȓ harde affraȳs had alle þo þat it held;
 Sore þei were trauailed, ȓ focour com þam non,
 And alle þer store failed, þer mete was nere gon.
 Tille þer kȳng þei fent, þei wild be at his wille,
 Bot he wild not consent, he pouht to do þam ille.
 So^q long was þe traȳne, or it were brouht to stalle,
 It were to me grete payne forto telle it alle.

^p Et .xx. gentyls homes, saunz pages et porter, Une frere Jacobyn, vn moigne counsayller, *MSS. Gall.*

^q Taunt fust la traine longe de la pees parler, Ke ioe ne say ne pusse la maite recorder, *MSS. Gall.*

I wote wele at þe laft alle com þei oute,
 Withouten couaunt caft, tille his mercý gan loute ;
 Boldely þei camen, ⁊ ſchewed þam to his face,
 Felle it to gode or grame, þei did þam in his grace.
 Þe caſtelle now is zolden, þe kýng dos wardeýns wife
 To kepe þe lond ⁊ dres, þe folk forto juſtife.
 Þe lond was fo waft he mad þer no foioure,
 Tille Ingland in haft he turned with honoure.

Þe moneth of September zolden was Striuelyn,
 Edward may remember þe trauaile ⁊ þe pýn,
 With many grete encumbere of in hard ſtoure,
 At Bruftwik opon Humbre þer he mad foioure.
 Sir Jon of Warenne þat ilk týme gan deie,
 His body was redý þen in graue forto leie ;
 After þe enterment þe kýng tok his way,
 To þe ſouth he went þorgh Lyndefay.
 He ſpired as he zede, who did fuilk trespas,
 Brak his pes with dede, tille he in Scotland was,
 Of fuilk fuld be ſpoken, if men of þam pleýned,
 Þo þat þe pes had broken, if þei mot be atteýned.

Wife^r men of gode gaf anfuere to þe kýng,
 Þat fuilk foles zode, it was certeýn þing ;
 Þorgh þe lond is don fuilk grete greuance,
 Bot it be mendid fon, a werre may riſe o chance.
 Þiſe coutekours whidere þei aſſigned a ſtede þat es,
 And þer þei com togidere ⁊ mak a fikernes,
 Þat þei falle alle go to whom, or where þei wille,
 To robbe, bete or flo, ageyn alle manere ſkille.

^r Respouns ount fet al reiz gents de bien voillaunce, Coment par my la tere fet est graunt greuance, Par commune contekours, qe sunt par ſiaunce Obligex ensemble a vne purueance, Trayl-bastouns sunt nomex de cel retenance. En faires et en marches se proferent [ce/ proferent] fere couenance, Pur .iij. souz ou .iiij. ou pur la vayllaunce Batre vn prod home, qe vnques fist nocuance, &c. *MSS. Gall.*

Þei profere a man to bete, for tuo schilynges or þre,
 With piked staues grete, beten falle he be,
 In feire t̄ markette þei falle feke him oute;
 Alle þe lond is fette with fuilk foles stoute.
 If a chapman will not lene of his merchaundie,
 In his hous for tene þei do him vilenie,
 Or els he be at one largely to gyue of his,
 Els þei falle him ilkone bete him þat he pis.
 For men of fuilk maners, bot þer be som justife,
 Sone in for zers per chance a werre falle rife.
 Þe kyng herd alle þe fame, þe pleynt of ilka toun,
 And gaf þam a new name, t̄ cald þam Traile bastoun.
 Þe date was a þoufand, þre hundred mo bi fiue,
 Suilk men þro þe land he did þam tak bilyue.

The kyng þorgh þe lond did feke men o refons
 And with þe justife þam bond, to site oñ Trailebastons.
 Som þorgh quest þei demed be bonden in prifons,
 And þo þat fled þei flemed als þe kynges felons.
 Som men out þe kast of lond was holden wrong,
 Fals couenantz þei braft þorgh powere holden long,
 And som gaf raunson after þer trespas,
 Als þe dede was done, so þe amendes was.
 Bot men did amend fuilk folie openly knowen,

Non suld þam defend, ne dur wonne in þer owen.
 A ! Jhesu, whan þou wille how rightwis is þi mede !
 Þat of þe wrong has gilt, þe endyng may þei drede.
 William Waleis is nomen, þat maister was of theues,
 Tipyng to þe kyng is comen, þat robberie mischeues.
 Sir Jon of Menetest fewed William so nehi,
 He tok him whan he wend lest, on nyght his leman bi.
 Þat was þorgh trefon of Jak Schort his man,
 He was þe enchefon þat Sir Jon so him nam.
 Jak broþer had he slayn, þe Waleis þat is said,
 Þe more Jak was fayn to do William þat braid.

Selcouthly he endis þe man þat is fals,
 If he trest oñ his frendes, þei begile him als.
 Begiled is William, taken is t̄ bondon,
 To Ingland with him þei cam, t̄ led him vnto London ;
 Þe first dome he fanged, for trefon was he drawen,
 For robbrie was he hanged, t̄ for he had men flawen,
 And for he had brent abbeis t̄ men of religion,
 Eft fro þe galweis quik þei lete him doun,
 And bouweld him alle hote, t̄ brent þam in þe fire,
 His hede þan of smote, fuilk was William hire ;
 And for he had mayntend þe werre at his myght,
 On lordschip lended þore he had no right,
 And stroied þore he knewe in fele stede fers,
 His body þei hewe on foure quarters,
 To hang in foure tounes, to mene of his maners,
 In stede of gonfaynounes, t̄ of his baners.
 At London is his heued, his quarters ere leued, in Scotland spred
 To wirfchip þer iles, t̄ lere of his wiles, how wele that he sped.
 It is not to drede, traytour falle spede, als he is worpi
 His lyfe falle he tine, t̄ die þorgh pyne, withouten merci.
 Þus may men here, a ladde forto lere, to biggen in pays ;
 It fallis in his ize, þat hewes ouer hie, with þe Walays.

VII.

EXTRACT FROM THE SCOTICHRONICON OF FORDUN.*

DE PRIMORDIIS WILLELMI WALLACE.^b

EODEM anno inclitus ille bellator Willelmus Wallace, Anglicorum maleus et flagellum, filius nobilis militis^a ejusdem nominis, caput levavit; et videns contritionem gentis suæ, et possessiones Scotorum datas in manus inimicorum, emarcuit cor ejus, et condoluit valde. Erat enim statura procerus, corpore giganteus, facie serenus, vultu jucundus, humeris latus, ossibus grossus, ventre congruus, lateribus protelus, aspectu gratus, fed visu ferus; renibus amplus, brachiis et cruribus vigorosus; pugil acerrimus, et omnibus artubus fortissimus et compactus. Infuper sic eum Altissimus, et ipsius vultum varium quadam hilaritate favorabili insigniverat, ita dicta et facta illius quodam cœlesti dono gratificaverat, ut omnium fidorum corda Scotorum solo aspectu sibi conciliaret in gratiam et favorem. Et nec mirum; erat enim in donis liberalissimus, in judiciis æquissimus, in consolatione tristium compatiens, in consilio peritissi-

A. D. 1297.

^a Concerning the authorship of the different portions of this work, the sources whence derived, and its historic importance, there is considerable difficulty. It is to be regretted that there exists no edition in which the component parts furnished by the different authors is clearly indicated. The present extracts are from Goodall's edition, corrected in some places by the Harl. MS. 145, and a MS. belonging to the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, O. 919, (xv Cent. extending to Lib. XIV., cap. xlvii.)

^b Scotichronicon, Lib. XI., cap. xxviii.

^c A marked distinction exists between the English and Scottish accounts on the origin of Wallace. There seems reason to believe that the latter narratives are in this respect entitled to the greater credit.

mus, in sufferentia patientissimus, in locutione luculentissimus, super omnia falsitatem et mendacia prosequens, ac prodicionem detestans; propter quod fuit Dominus cum eo, per quem erat vir in cunctis prospere agens; ecclesiam venerans, ecclesiasticos reverens,^v pauperes et viduas sustentans, pupillos et orphanos refovens, oppressos relevans, furibus et raptoribus infidians, et sine pretio super eos justitiam exercens et rigorem.^w Cujuscemodi justis operibus, quia quam maxime Deum gratificabat, Ipse propterea omnia ejus opera dirigebat. Hic, quasi in principio militiæ suæ, Vicecomitem de Lanark, Willelmum de Heslope,^x Anglicum, virum strenuum armis et potentem militem, in villa de Lanark interfecit. Ex eo igitur tempore, quasi apes ad examen, congregati sunt ad eum omnes qui erant amaro animo, et oppressi pondere fervitutis sub intolerabili principatu Anglicanæ dominationis. Et factus est eorum dux. Erat enim, ut præmissimus, miræ fortitudinis et audaciæ, decorus aspectu, dapillis et liberalitatis immensæ,^y sanguine clarus; cujus parentes militari honore præfulgebant; cujus frater senior, miles, Andreas nomine, et militiæ cingulo succinctus, Anglorum fraude interemtus, pro statu suo patrimonium sufficiens habuit in terris, quod et suis posteris tenendum reliquit. Hic undique,^z custos regni deputatus, Anglicos prosternens, et quotidie proficiens, in brevi tempore omnes magnates Scotiæ^a vi et

^v The conduct of Wallace at Hexham, as detailed by Hemingford, completely warrants this piece of commendation.

^w Quia hujusmodi justis operibus alacrius insistebat, propterea Altissimus omnia ejus opera dirigebat. Cum itaque, quasi in principio militiæ suæ, ipse rebus inops sed generosus, ipse solus sed vigorosus, ipse despectus sed animosus, Vicecomitem de Lanark, Willelmum de Heslope, Anglicum, virum strenuum armis et potentem militem, in villa de Lanark interfecisset, et diversis assultibus diversos elatos et potentes Anglicos armorum phalangis conglobatos, ipse, interdum solus, interdum paucis comitatus, strenue et feliciter devicisset, et de finibus patriæ hinc inde eliminasset, *MS. Cuprensis.*

^x The Inditement of Wallace, printed in a subsequent page, calls him "Hesebregg."

^y Circumspectus et gnarus, genere et generositate præclarus. *MS. Cwpr.*

^z Custos regni deputatus est. Nam revelatione mirifica ostensum est fide dignioribus diversis, sanctissimum Apostolum Andream, regni Scotiæ protectorem et patronum, dicto Willelmo Wallace gladium cruentatum manualiter commississe, stricte sibi præcipiendo eo utrobique uti ad defensionem regni Anglicos propulsando. Custos itaque effectus, misit manum suam ad fortia, Anglicos prosternens, Anglicos reconcilians, oppressos relevans, et quotidianis incrementis proficiens. *Id.*

^a Qui indignabantur legibus suis subdi, *addit idem.*

virtute probitatis suæ velint, nolint, suo subjecit imperio.^b Et si quis de magnatibus gratis suis non obediret mandatis, hunc tenuit et coercuit, et custodiae mancipavit, donec suis bene placitis penitus obtemperaret. Et sic pacatis omnibus, viriliter se contulit ad expugnanda castra et villas firmatas, in quibus Anglici principabantur, per omnia patriæ liberationi et subversioni inimicorum solerter intendens; et quod violenta virtute non valuit, id sagaciori cautela ad effectum perducere studuit. Nam ad executionem cujuscunque sui propositi hortatus est suos commilitones unanimiter semper pugnam pro libertate patriæ se fore congressuros.^c Et de omnium fuorum sequacium multitudine sub poena capitis statuit, ut coram se semper collocatis mediocrum personarum inferioribus, sive, ut apparuit, minus robore valentibus, unus de quinque, qui super alios quatuor ex omnibus quinariis eligatur, qui quaternio nuncupetur, ejusque præcepto in omnibus ab illis obediatur, et qui non obedierit occidatur. Similiter etiam, semper ad robustiores et valentiores ascendendo, super novem scilicet decimus, qui Decurio dicatur, et super novemdecim vicefimus, et sic usque ad mille, qui Chiliarcha, et ultra usque ad summum ascendendo; tandem ipse super omnes excellens armiductor et campiductor habeatur; cui omnes, usque ad mortem, obedire teneantur. Omnes autem hanc legem sive pro lege concorditer approbantes,^d ipsum in capitaneum elegerunt, et prædictum statutum se usque ad regem legitime successurum^e servaturos promiserunt.

QUOMODO NORTHUMBRIAM DESTRUXIT.^f

Fama igitur Willelmi Wallace ubique ventilata, tandem ad aures regis Angliæ, proclamante damno suis illato, pervenit; qui arduis negotiis alibi

^b Æqualiter pro personarum qualitate tam parvum quam magnum rectificans, alterum non lædens, sed quod suum erat unicuique dijudicans et tribuens. *Id.*

^c Et inimicos non formidare; hoc sæpius Scotis repetens, quod vere pro patria tuta est pugna, in qua pugnans nec vulneratum nec prostratum conculcat fraudalis victoria; tantum ne fugiamus. Sola causa qua inimicis parere poterimus victoriam fuga est. Fugiendo possumus illam amittere, moriendo nequaquam; et beati, si pro libertate nostra, quam nobis Autor naturæ indidit, pugnando moriamur; quia mox coronabimur. Et ne de facili sui præsidio fugæ consulerent *Id.*

^d Quamvis nonnulli magnatum corde tenus dissecabantur, *addunt MSS. Capren. et Perth.*

^e Assuturum, *ibid.*

^f *Scotichronicon, Lib. XI, cap. xxix.*

multipliciter intentus,^c suum Thesaurarium, Hugonem de Creffinghame, cum magna potentia, ad reprimendam ipsius Willelmi audaciam, et regnum Scotiæ sibi subjugandum, destinavit. Audito igitur tanti viri cum armata manu adventu, prædictus Willelmus tunc circa obfessionem Anglicorum in castro de Dundé existentium occupatus, statim, commissa cura et diligentia obfessionis castri ejusdem, villæ burgenfibus, sub pœna amissionis vitæ et membrorum, cum suo exercitu sub omni festinatione versus Strivelyne, eidem Hugoni obvius processit; et gravi bello commisso apud pontem de Strivelyne, tertio idus Septembris [Sep. 11] anno Domini millesimo, ducentesimo, nonagesimo septimo, idem Hugo de Creffinghame interfectus est, et cunctus ejus exercitus in fugam conversus, aliis ex ipsis gladiis jugulatis, aliis captis, aliis aquis submersis; sed cunctis Dei virtute superatis, prædictus Willelmus, cum laude non modica, felici potitus est victoria. Ex cujus parte de numero nobilium Scotiæ, solus Andreas de Moravia, pater Andreæ nobilis, vulneratus occubuit.^b De hoc bello habentur hujusmodi metra;

Ex quo cor validum Scoti fumfere, movente
 Willelmo Wallace, et eos guerrare docente,
 Ut, quos captivos tenuit gens Anglica vivos,
 Ad propriam Scotos facerent patriam redivivos.
 Insuper ut regem facerent regnare Johannem
 In regno proprio; quia si vellent alieno
 Regi servire, possent sua jura perire.
 Hinc tercenteno milleno ter minus uno
 Annorum Domini dicuntur vincere Scoti
 Anglos infestos, quos reddunt funere mæstos:
 Ut pons testatur, ubi bellum grande notatur,
 Qui Strivelyn juxta Forth amnem conditur ultra.
 Septembris terno fuit idus ista superno
 Dono devotis gratia facta Scotis.

^c Edward was at that period engaged, with his accustomed vigour and energy, in prosecuting his affairs in Flanders.

^b Cecidit vulneratus, edit. H., gladio occubuit, MS. D. G. M.

Post istiusmodi igitur triumphalem victoriam, festinavit se Custos Scotiæ prædictus Willelmus Wallace ad continuandam obsidionem castrî de Dundé; ad cuius adventum custodes Anglici perterriti, ob fortunatam Strivelensem victoriam, cum ingenti armorum et thesauri copia, nulla pactione præmissa, ad deditionem castrî ipsos coegit. Quo audito, super reliquos hostes irruit timor et tremor. Ac ipse Custos cetera castella et municipia, quæ de manu nostrorum rapuerant Angli, quædam ad solum diruit, quædam firmæ custodiæ Scotorum committit, nonnulla etiam vacua dimittit. Appropinquante vero autumnali tempore, maxima in regno ingruit caristia et victualium inopia, deficientibus undique granis auræ inclementia. Propter quod, segetibus in areis et horreis introductis, summonere fecit Custos universos et singulos Scotos patriæ defensibiles, ut terram inimicorum invaderent, et ibidem victitarent; necnon ad transigendam inibi ratam hiemalem, ad parcendum suis propriis victualibus permodicis, in areis, ut præmissimus, congregatis. De omni igitur vicecomitatus et schira, baronia et dominio, oppido et villagio, civitate et burgo, atque prædio rusticano, habebat speciales matriculas, virorum ad bellandum infra sedecim et sexaginta annos nomina continentes; ita ut nec unus quidem absque ipsius scientia, tempore et loco statutis, abesse poterat inperceptus. Quinetiam statuit sanctione pragmatica, quod non solum in omni baronia, sed etiam ad omnem valentem villam, patibulum erigeretur, quibus suspenderentur omnes se ab exercitu summoniti, sine rationabili causa subterfugia confingentes. Quod et factum est. Nam et ipse cum immani exercitu expeditionem faciens, et nonnullos burgeneses de Aberden et alios non venisse comperiens, constituit, ut præmissimus, quaterniones, pentatarchos, decuriones, centuriones, et chiliarchos, et huiusmodi, ad sibi præsidendum commissis,¹ et versus Angliam ante festum Omnium Sanctorum iter arripendum; ipse, cum admodum paucis, omni festinantia habenas retorfit, et apud Abirden et in confinibus inexcusatos, qui post exercitum remanserant, suspendio punivit, et ad exercitum celerius credito rediit; ubi totam Northumbriam usque Novumcastrum concilians et devastans, a festo Omnium Sanctorum, usque ad Purificationem

¹ Præsidendum de exercitu. *MSS. Cupr. et Perth.*

nostræ Dominæ, vel ad minus, ut quidam libri chronigraphizant, cum suo exercitu in Anglia usque ad Natale Domini, hiemavit; et combusta tota terra de Allirdale, abductis prædis, cum suis spoliis ditatis Scotis, sanus ad propria rediit et securus.

QUOMODO SINE PUGNA CUSTOS SCOTIÆ WILLELMUS FUGAVIT ET DEVICIT
ANGLOS.^k

Hæc audiens rex Eadwardus, rabida succensus ira, et seipsum præ dolore non sustinens guerrare regem Franciæ, ut disposuit,^l intermisit, quod utique Gallicis ad maximam cessit consolationem. Nam, iudicio quorundam, si Scoti tunc illum, per guerrarum molimina, de Gallia non revocassent, major pars domus Franciæ in pendulo perstitisset. Divertens igitur rex Eadwardus a Galiis, petiit terras proprias, ubi attendens strages et depopulationes per Scotos sibi et suis illatas, scripsit Custodi Scotiæ Willelmo Wallace literas comminatorias, dicens inter cetera; “ Quod si ipse rex in regno suo perstitisset, non ausus fuisset Wallace talia attemptasse; sed si auderet Angliam reinvadere, manus ipsius regis sibi et suis præsto ultrices vindictam de præsumptione sentiret expetere.” Quid plura? Audita Willelmus regis protervia et comminabili jaçtantia, sibi nuncium remisit, “ Se citra solemnitatem Paschalem regnum suum denuo revivisurum.”

Congregatis igitur hinc inde utriusque regni exercitibus, prope Stanmore^m deventum est verisimiliter ad conflictum. Ubi, ex parte Scotorum, tirones et cordatus juvenus militiae licentiam a Custode petierunt, ut ante aciem possent, pro ipsorum calcaribus deaurandis, Anglos experiri. Quod fieri usquequaque non sinens, præcepit voce præconis omnibus, sub poena capitis, ordinem eis præinsertum servare, ac gravitate solita necnon maturitate præconcepta incedere. Cum ex adverbo rex Angliæ cum innumerabili quasi multitudine et pomposo lituorum et tubarum clangore perstrepsens, prætendebat se exercitum Scotorum, quasi non difficili, cor-

^k Scotichronicon, Lib. XI, cap. xxx.

^l Facilius de matrimonio contrahendo cum sorore regis Franciæ consentiens, *hic addit Lib. Cxvpr.*

^m Stanmore, a tract of country upon the west of the county of Durham, extending towards Cumberland.

repturum. Sed cum cerneret rex Scotos sapienter unanimi et folido in-
 ceffu procedentes, non diftantes per medium miliaris a congreffu fuorum
 commilitonum, confilio fe cum fuis regirans, locum dedit malitiæ hujus
 horæ. Quod videntes Scoti, voluerunt unanimiter regem perfequi fugi-
 entem, fed ne hoc etiam fieret, Cuftos fub omiffione vitæ interdixit,
 dicens, “ Quod inter certamina inter regna, præaudita figura fuit pul-
 cerrimæ victoriæ, attendere magnanimem regem Angliæ, in folo, quod
 fuum effe dicebat, cum fuis regalibus concionibus et metuendis fatrapis,
 a minutis communienfibus et patriotis Scotiæ terga dediffe, nondum
 exacto gladio parte ex adverfa.” Quo fermone ab ore ejus mellito ab
 univerfo Scotorum exercitu audito, de equis defcendentes, et ad terram
 fe profternentes, Deum glorificaverunt et Sanctum Andream, necnon
 pium confefforem Cuthbertum, in cujus memoriali de hoc feculo tranfitu
 hæc dies celebris agebatur; quia, per talis gubernatoris induftriam et
 tutelam, inimicorum virtus emarcuit et potentia; et tam ipfi Scoti, quam
 Scotia, laude perenni tam prædicabilis victoriæ confecuti funt infignia.
 Ferunt tamen Angli, quod rex non fuit ibi præfens in perfona, fed in
 tunica armorum aliis fibi fimilis refulfit.

De præmiſſis hujusmodi habentur metra, ad bellum pontis de Strive-
 lyne confequentia;

Congregat hinc Scotos dictus cognomine Wallace,
 Sicut grana legit, quod fertur Gallice Valais.
 Anglos profequitur, ut bellum continuaret,
 Et libertatem Scotiæ bello renovaret.
 Tunc Anglicorum fubverſio tantaque talis,
 Quam nunquam fimilem ſentivit pars borealis.
 Uſque Novum-caſtrum periit Northumbria tota,
 Sic verſus Stanmor complent Scoti ſua vota.

Anno præfato Domini redeunt iterato
 Angli Berwico pugnaturi, tibi dico,
 Feſto Cuthberti, vernali tempore, certi.
 Scoti ſpectabant, campo pugnare putabant,
 Ut promiferunt Angli; fed non tenuerunt
 Quod promiferunt, ſtatim fed terga dederunt.

Quod cum viderent Scoti tristes abierunt,
 Reciprocae regis fert Anglia dedecus ægis.
 Concio Scotena, collaudans dona suprema,
 Et si non plena, grates tamen fert ut egena.
 Surgit et exultat domus omnis, laude refultat,
 Cum rex aufugit; hinc tristior Anglia mugit.

DE CONSPIRATIONE CONTRA CUSTODEM CONCEPTA PER MAGNATES.^a

Scotia igitur mirabiliter, immo feliciter, sagacitate Custodis respirans, cum unufquifque in suo perfisteret secure, et terram, ut solito, coleret, sæpissimeque de inimicis triumpharet, magnates et potentiores regni, fonte invidiæ debriati, conjurationem clandestinam contra Custodem, vultus virgineos sibi prætendentes, sed caudis ad invicem colligatis, feditiose confinxerunt. Unde quidam, qui suis per ipsum municipiis ac dominiis erant restituti, exclusis penitus ab eisdem Anglicis, elato corde et ranoroso animo susurrabant,º ad invicem dicentes, “ Nolumus hunc regnare super nos.” Plebei tamen et populares, una cum pluribus de nobilioribus, quorum meus sanior erat et ad rempublicam proclivior, laudabant Deum, eo quod ipsi, per talem propugnatorem, ab æmulum aufibus erepti, propriis poterat laribus confoveri. O stolidi fatuitas fatuorum! Wallace non se ingessit ad regnandum, sed, amotis prius nominatis custodibus, electione statuum erigitur in Rectorem. Et cum tu Scotia! acephala teipsam defendere nequiveras, ipse brachium tibi extiterat immane, et salus in tempore tribulationis. O æmula insidia! cur in tantum dominaris in Scotia? Scotorum, pro dolor! natura est odire non solum alienæ, sed et propriæ patriotæ felicitati. Et hoc respectu inferiorum, ne sibi cœquantur; respectu superiorum, quia eis non æquantur; et respectu parium, quia sibi æquiparantur. In hoc poterunt affimulari Cain, qui invidit Abel prosperitati; Rachel Liæ fœcunditati; Saul David felicitati; et, ut ita dicam, Scotis Wallace magnaminitati. Sic per invidiam procuratus est lapsus cleri, ruina populi, et casus regni.

^a Scotichronicon, Lib. XI, cap. xxxi.

º Submurmurabant, *MSS. Cupr. et Perth.*

DE BELLO VARIE-CAPELLÆ, ET ALIIS.^p

Anno gratiæ millesimo ducentesimo, nonagesimo octavo, rex Angliæ moleste ferens damna et angustias sibi et suis per Willelmum Wallace multipliciter illata, congregato grandi exercitu partes Scotiæ hostiliter intravit, habens secum in suum auxilium quosdam de nobilibus Scotiæ. Cui occurrens prædictus Willelmus cum ceteris magnatibus dicti regni, commisso gravi bello juxta Variam-Capellam,^q .xj. kalendas Augusti, in festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdelenæ, non sine gravi damno tam procerum, quam mediocrium gentis Scoticanæ^r in fugam conversus est. Nam, propter conceptam malitiam, ex fonte invidiæ generatam, quam erga dictum Willelmum Comynenses habebant, cum suis complicitibus campum deferentes, illæsi evaserunt. Cognita autem eorum malitia, antedictus Willelmus, se et suos salvare desiderans, per aliam viam fugere festinavit.

Quos insequens ex adverso Robertus de Bruce, cum inter utriusque militiæ cohortes profunda et quasi immeabilis vallis effossata appareret, fertur ipsum Robertum elata voce clamare ad Willelmum, quærens, Quis eum coegit talia præsumere, ut, in contrarium altipotentis regis Angliæ et potioris partis Scotiæ, tam temerarie contenderet decertare. Ad quem fertur Willelmum hujusmodi dedisse responsum: "Tua, O Roberte! Roberte! inertia et effeminata ignavia me stimulant et provocant ad tuæ juris patriæ liberationem; sed et nunc semivir de cubilibus ad aciem, de umbra ad solem progressurus, cujus corpus delicatum, mollibus affuetum, pondus prælii pro patriæ propriæ liberatione, loricæ onus fegnitè assumens, me sic præsumentem, quin forte et insipientem, effecit, et ad hæc intentanda sive capeffenda coegit." His dictis, perniciosi fugæ consulens Willelmus, ipse cum suis reposcit tutiora. Propter quod ipse Robertus, quasi de gravi fomno evigilans, efficacia verborum Wallace in tantum cor ejus invasit, quod ultra non habuit conceptum favere Anglorum opinioni.

^p Sootichronicon, Lib. XL, cap. xxxiv. Desiderantur capitæ xxxii. et xxxiii. in MSS. nostris.

^q Falkirk, of which the Latin *Varia Capella* is a translation.

^r The English Historians, in all probability, highly magnify the number of those who fell in this battle. To the passages usually quoted upon this subject may be added the following:—"Anno Domini m.cc.lxxxviii. rex Edwardus in die Beatæ Mariæ Magdalensæ triumphant apud Falkirk, occisus de Scotis, circiter octoginta millia."—MS. Cott. Calig. A. xiii., fol. 6.

Unde seipso quotidie fortior effectus, conservabat omnia verba hæc ab amico suo fideli prolata, conferens in corde suo. In quo prævaluit quod scribit Seneca dicens, “ Habet hoc optimum generosus animus, quod de facili concitatur ad honesta. Neminem excelsi ingenii virum vilia delectant. Felix qui alterius consultu ad meliora impetum animi dedit. Ponit se extra conditionem fortunæ; prospera tentabit, adversa comminuet, et alia admiranda despiciet.”

Willelmo igitur Wallace cum suis ex acie dilapsis, proh dolor! utriusque regni^a superbia et ardenti invidia, nobilis communitas Scotiæ per montes et colles, valles et planities, miserabiliter jacuit prostrata. Inter quos, de numero nobilium valentissimus miles Johannes^t Senescallus cum suis Brandanis,^u et Macduff comes de Fyfe cum ejusdem incolis, penitus sunt extincti.

Communiter autem dicitur, Robertum de Bruce, qui postea fuit rex Scotiæ, sed tunc pro parte stetit regis Angliæ, per suam industriam huic victoriæ occasionem præstitisse. Cum enim Scoti in suis aciebus persistenter invicti, et nulla vi vel arte poterant penetrari, idem Robertus cum una acie, cui præerat Antonius de Bek,^v unum montem longi itineris circumiens, ex adverso post terga in Scotos irruit; et sic illi, qui in parte anteriori impenetrabiles steterunt et invicti, a parte posteriori callide sunt superati. Et est notandum, quod nunquam vel raro legitur ab Anglicis Scotos fuisse superatos, nisi invidia procerum, vel fraude et deceptione indigenarum, ad aliam partem se transferentium.

Post prædictam ergo victoriam inimicis concessam per Scotigenarum prodicionem, intelligens supradictus Willelmus Wallace, ex his et aliis probabilibus argumentis, prædictorum Comynensium et suorum fautorum

^a Vox *regni* a manu interpolatoris est, nec occurrit in editione Hearnii, ubi hæc superbia et invidia W. Wallace et Comynis vitio dantur, quod de priore dissimulat Buchananus, ut etiam alii de recentioribus.

^t Seuer, *edit. H.*, Senescalli, *MS. D. G. M.*

^u Brandani, the inhabitants of the island of Bute.

^v It is difficult to say how far this story may be true; but this much may be said in its favour, that Beck, bishop of Durham, would most probably have Bruce in his retinue, (admitting that he were present at the battle,) he being the possessor of considerable estates at Hartlepool, within the palatinate of that bishop.

manifestam nequitiam, eligenſque magis fubeſſe cum plebe, quam cum ejus ruina et gravi populi præeſſe diſpendio, non diu poſt bellum Variæ-Capellæ apud aquam de Forth, officium Cuſtodis ſponte reſignavit. ^v Poſt quem eodem anno a Scotigenis electus eſt Johannes Comyn, filius, Cuſtos Scotiæ; qui ſtetit in eodem officio uſque ad tempus quo idem Johannes venit ad pacem regis Angliæ, anno, ſcilicet, proximo poſt conflictum de Roſlyn; ſed infra idem tempus affociatus eſt ſibi Johannes de Sowlis per Johannem de Balliolo, tunc a carcere deliberatum et in terris de Balliolo commorantem, qui curam et regimen diu non tenuit. Sed, pro eo quod ſimplex et minus rigorofus, aliquoties paſſus repulſam, deſpectui habebatur. Propter quod Scotiam relinquens ſeceſſit in Franciam, et ibi mortuus eſt. ^z

DE TREUGIS CONCESSIS COMMUNITATI SCOTIÆ, AD INSTANTIAM REGIS
FRANCIÆ, ET DE NUNCIIS MISSIS ROMANÆ CURIÆ. ⁷

Philippus rex Franciæ ^z miſit unum notabilem clericum, nomine Petrum de Mouncy, et valentem militem Johannem de Barroſe, nomine, ad Eadwardum regem Angliæ, pro treugis capiendis inter ipſum Eadwardum et acephalam communitatem Scotiæ. Ad cujus instantiam idem rex Angliæ

^v *Al. dereliquit.* Officium Cuſtodis ſponte dereliquit poſt conflictum de Roſlyn, ejus inſtructione commiſſum; quia, ut quidam volunt, promiſſionem fecit, ſe Scotiam non deſerere, donec veriſimiliter videret ipſam adhuc ſemel de inimicis triumphare. Poſt enim conflictum de Roſlyn, Wallace, aſcenaſ navi, Franciam petiit; ubi quanta probitate refulſit, tam ſuper mare a piratis, quam in Francia ab Angliſ perpeſſus eſt discrimina, et viriliter ſe habuit, nonnulla carmina, tam in ipſa Francia quam in Scotia, at-
teſtantur. Cum rege enim Franciæ Philippo digno habebatur honore, venerabatur præconio, et mulce-
batur alloquio, ac ad ſecum commorandum pro perpetuo grandia promittebantur territoria, et, tam in
pagis quam urbibus, prædia quamplurima ac dominia fuerant ſibi conſeſſa. Sed ipſe ſolo paterno et na-
turali affectione ad modum Scotorum allectus, poſt ipſius a Scotia reſeſſum, audiens ipſum regnum
nimium ſuppeditari, ſupplicatione Scotorum de facili revocaretur, niſi rex Franciæ ipſum quaſi invite
retractaret. Nam ut Willelmus ſecum perhendinaret, Philippus rex Franciæ Eadwardo regi Angliæ ſuo
fratri legali ſpecialiſſime ſcripſit pro treugis inter ipſum et domum Scotiæ capiendis, ut infra dicitur:
ne videlicet præſentiam Willelmi Wallace, quem tam tenerrime diligebat, vel ad tempus amitteret.—
Addunt MSS. Cyp. et Per.

^z His Epitaph is given in *L'Art de verif. les Dates*, under the article which diſcuſſes his hiſtory as king of Scotland.

⁷ *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XI., cap. xxxv.

^z Ne careret præſentia Willelmi Wallace, *addunt iidem.*

concessit treugas^a pro regno Scotiæ a festo Omnium Sanctorum anni fu-
pradioti, usque ad Pentecosten proximum sequentem. Nec illas treugas
concedere volebat ad infantiam regis Franciæ, tanquam aliquo facto con-
fœderati ad regnum Scotiæ, sed tanquam ipsius consanguinei et fœceri five
fratris legalis,^b cujus sororem, Margaretam nomine, circa idem tempus
affidavit, et anno sequenti, id est, Domini millesimo ducentesimo nona-
gesimo nono, apud Cantuariam duxit in uxorem. Quo anno currebant
Polardi et Crocardi in Anglia. Et interim solvit Clerus Angliæ deci-
mam, secundum taxationem Norwigensem,^c in subsidium contra Scotos.
Et ne treugas concederet pacto, ut præmittitur, confœderati, hoc præ-
dictos nuncios, ante concessionem treugarum, fateri compellebat. Audito
ergo a Custodibus et Statibus regni Scotiæ, quomodo, non obstantibus
treugis, rex Angliæ impositione taxæ et decimatione cleri Angliæ, inten-
debat ex toto regnum Scotiæ subvertere, et suæ ditioni submittere, do-
minus Johannes de Sowlis tanquam Custodum primas, assistentibus sibi
comparibus et regni prælatis et baronibus, magistros Willelmum archi-
diaconum Laudoniæ, Baldredum Biset, et Willelmum Eglethame, pro-
curatores et nuncios speciales ad Bonifacium VIII., tunc Summum Pon-
tificem, destinavit, ad insinuandum et exponendum eidem varia et multi-
plicia incommoda regno Scotiæ per dictum regem Angliæ hostiliter illata,
et ad impetrandum, contra ipsius molestias et gravamina, remedia oppor-
tuna, prout in commissione ipsorum nunciorum plenius continetur.^d Qui
sic tacite se continent, et de fortificatione jurium suorum, necnon ratio-
nibus et allegationibus se munientes, expectabant quoadusque per tyran-
nidem dicti Eadwardi detinebantur incarcerati.

Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quarto, multi Scotorum nobiles
et prælati, quorum quidem unum, dominum Willelmum Oliferd, militem,
custodem castri de Strivelyne, dum in possessione Scoti illud tenerant,

^a See Fœd. ii. 869.

^b Et amicabilem compositorem utriusque partis, *addit Edit. H.*

^c Rather "Norwicensem," the Norwich Taxation of Ecclesiastical benefices.

^d Cujus copia, cum Processu ipsius Baldredi contra regem Angliæ, in quodam libello, scripto per Alanum de Montrose, habetur, cum multis literis ad eandem litem pertinentibus, *addit Editio H.* The Processus of Baldred Bisset is well known, but the work of Alan of Montrose has not come down to us. Concerning the former, see Tanner's *Bibl.* p. 102; and Fordun's *Scotich. Lib. XL*, cap. xxxvi.—lxiii.

ipse rex Eadwardus manu valida, per non modicum tempus obfessum cepit, contra fidem sibi promissam, Londoniis carceri, cum Roberto et Mauritio Glasguenfi et Sodorenfi, id est Manniæ, episcopis, crudeliter mancipavit.

QUOMODO JOHANNES COMYN ET SIMON FRASER VIRILITER SE
HABUERUNT.*

Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo, conquesti sunt, ut præmittitur, proceres regni Scotorum domino nostro Papæ, super intolerabili gravamine illato eis per regem Angliæ; et in anno sequenti citatus, nec comparuit per se, vel idoneos procuratores; sed omnibus suis prætenfis et rationibus Baldredus, cum sociis procuratoribus Scotiæ, luculento sermone breviter, ut præmittitur, respondit; ipsas omni veritate fore nudatas probabilibus argumentis et præclaris evidentiis manifeste demonstravit, ut in suo patet Processu.

Hoc in anno municipium de Linlithgw, quod Anglice "Pele" vocatur, per regem Angliæ constructum est.

Custodes igitur Scotiæ audientes quod rex Angliæ succubuit in Romana Curia, multum perinde hilares effecti, audaciam aliqualem plus solito conceperunt; virtute cujus habitus est congressus magnus et manifestus inter Scotos et Anglos apud Rosline, ubi Anglici sunt devicti, licet cum magna difficultate.^f Nam a principio primæ guerræ inter Scotos et Anglicos motæ, tam strenuus non recitatur fuisse conflictus, in quo sic claruit strenuitas Scotorum potentiæ militaris. Hujus eventus bellici rector et dux fuit Johannes Comyn, filius. Cujus quidem conflictus talis causa et modus exstiterat.

Post bellum commissum apud Variam-Capellam, rex Angliæ citra aquam de Forth personaliter non venit pro tunc; sed misit potentiam satis magnam, quæ totam terram de Fife, cum omnibus terris prope jacentibus villæ de Perth, interfectis pluribus ipsarum terrarum habitatoribus, deprædavit; qua reversa^g cum prædis innumeris, idem rex cum suo exercitu ad pro-

* *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XII, cap. i.

^f Ter uno die sunt devicti. *MSS.* | *Capr. et Perth.*

^g Qua potentia reversa. *MS. D. G. M.*

pria remeavit. Quod, Deo procurante, factum esse non ambigitur; nam si tunc, vel post bellum de Dumbar et captionem regis Johannis, moram pertraxisset, totam terram Scotiæ cum habitatoribus aut subjugasset imperio, aut eam, præter aquas et lapides, ut creditur, vastatam reddidisset. Sed pietas Dei,^h qui solus post vulnera curat et medetur, ita actus et tempora ipsius regis moderavit, ut, turbatus erga plurima, et diversis guerris intentus, circa hujus regni subjectionem, ceteris curis postpositis, non potuit indulgere. Redeunte igitur cum suis illo rege Angliæ, sed prius statutis ministris vicecomitatum, et custodibus castrorumⁱ in partibus ultra aquam de Forth, quæ plenarie et integre suo tunc subiacebant imperio,^k exceptis paucis exulibus,^l de natione verorum Scotorum, in silvis latitantibus, qui, propter cædes et damna Anglicis et Anglicatis Scotis illata, aperte apparere non poterant; Johannes Comyn, Custos tunc Scotiæ præcipuus, et Simon Frazer, miles bellicosissimus, omni probitate præditus, cum eorum sequacibus, antedicti regis ballivis et ministris die noctuque, pro suis viribus, satis molesti erant et importuni, Anglicos et Scotos Anglicatos, a tempore recessus prædicti regis, per quatuor annos et ultra, per mutuas cædes et flagella, secundum varios guerrarum eventus, multipliciter affligentes.

DE CONFLICTU DE ROSLINE, UBI TURMATIM ANGLICI UNO DIE TER VICTI
SUNT.^m

Quod cum nunciatum fuisset regi Angliæ, quendam magnanimem virum, Radulphum Comfreyⁿ nomine, nobilem valde, armis strenuum, consilio et sapientia peritum, cum magno exercitu^o electorum equitum

^h Et interventioni Sancti Andree apostoli, protectoris regni, hic addunt MSS. *Cup. et Perth.*, interpolatione haud ferenda.

ⁱ The arrangements which Edward made respecting these points may be gathered from the extracts from his Librate Rolls, preserved in the Tower of London, which will be found in Appendix of Illustrative Documents.

^k *Al. dominio.*

^l Exulibus vel etiam prædonibus, de natione Scotorum, in silvis latitantibus, qui propter sua facinora, juri parere non poterant, *Edit. Hearn.*

^m *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XII., cap. ii.

ⁿ A singular mistake for "Ralph the Cofferer," that is, the Treasurer.

^o Cum certa summa pro magno exercitu, *Edit. H.*

optime armatorum, ut molestatores et suæ pacis perturbatores, etiam in locis strictissimis, perquirentes, supremo non desisteret punire supplicio. Intrantes igitur Scotiam, circumierunt terram, perambulantes eam, et apud Roslyne per tres acies divisi, sua separatim fixerunt tentoria, propter arctam et angustam hospitandi inopiam. Cognito namque eorum adventu, Johannes Comyn et Simon Frazer, cum eorum sequacibus, paucis admodum respectu inimicorum, prævenire quam præveniri magis desiderantes, de Bigar usque ad Rosline, per millia ferme sedecim, sub unius noctis spatio alacriter percurrentes, cum viris electis, qui mori prius quam Anglicanæ nationi subjici indigne potius elegerunt, in hostes intrepidi repente irruerunt. Sed paulo ante, per vigiles excitati, assumtis armis, omnes primæ aciei irruentibus viriliter hostibus resisterunt. Tandem tamen illis superatis, captis partim et partim occisis, partim etiam ad ceteras acies fugientibus, confestim Scotis spolia dividitibus, apparuit acies altera, potior priore, ad bella parata. Qua visa, Scoti mente consternati, per duces tamen exhortatione summaria animati, captivis occisis, et de occisorum spoliis clientulis armatis, remotis equis invalidis et fortioribus ascensis, animis intrepidi ad pugnam alacrius properarunt. Hostibus, licet difficulter, tandem superatis, cum totum se Scoti fecisse credidissent, apparuit tertia acies Scotis numerosior, prioribus potentior, et armis elegantior. Ex cujus visione Scoti stupefacti, et, tum pro fatione itineris et vigiliarum, necnon et cibi defectu multipliciter lassati, tum pro continuis pugnandi laboribus calefacti, amotis cassidibus, ad exponendum se ventis secedentes, tum pro ictuum tumfonibus et vulnerum vehementer afflicti, tædere cœperunt, et ultra quam credi potest, animo pavere ac fugam capere se paraverunt. Inter has perplexitates populum timore constriictum antedicti duces Johannes et Simon animis imperterriti inanimantes, simul cum armis officium suscipiunt prædicatorum. Multum enim valet bellaturis strenui ducis exhortatio læta. Sicut narrat Sextus Julius, Stratagematum libro primo, “ Quod Cyrus, rex Perfarum, volens animos popularium concitare ad bellum contra Medos, tali usus est cautela ; duxit exercitum ad quandam silvam, ubi populum tota die in laboribus maximis occupavit in silva illa succidenda. In crastino, die scilicet præcedenti bellum, epulas lautissimas præparari, et exercitum cum

gaudio et tripudio fecit convivari. Et circumiens per turmas, interrogavit, quis illorum dierum magis eis placeret? Responderunt, quod dies secundus plus placuit eis quam primus dies. Quibus ille subjunxit; Sicut per laborem hesternum ad hodiernum pervenistis convivium, sic felices beatique esse non potestis, nisi prius Medos viceritis." Sic et nostri novi prædicatores Johannes et Simon populum verbis consolantes, promissis exhilarantes, necnon libertatis generositate, subjectionis vilitatem et antecessorum suorum indefessos labores pro patriæ liberatione voluntarie assumptos, ad memoriam reducentes, monitis salubrioribus ad pugnam animabant. His et aliis hujusmodi vehementer confortati, deposita omni vecordia, resumtis viribus et captivis occisis, ex eorum equis et armis, quasi denuo renovati, cum suis clientulis de prioribus armatis spoliis, spem suam in Domino ponentes, ad pugnam ferocissimi et alacres processerunt. Quorum congressus tam ingens erat et ferox, ut multi, armis perforatis, vita privarentur. Nonnulli etiam utriusque exercitus, post dira lancearum vulnera, sæva flagella, et clavarum ictus durissimos, numero centeni quadrageni et vicini alternis vicibus, pro lassitudine hinc inde pugnae diurnæ confusi, ad montes et colles et alia apta loca se retraherent; ut, ventis expositi, amotis galeis, et equis vulneratis, et ex aere refrigerati, aliis recentioribus ascensis, contra inimicorum insultus non vi humana, sed virtute Divina, subiectis hostibus. Scoti, qui respectu partis adversæ numero erant paucissima, velut si pugillus frumenti multitudine maris arenæ cœqueretur, felici et jucunda, laus Deo, potiti sunt victoria.

Reperi in quadam chronica, quod Anglici erant bellatores numerati triginta millia; Scoti vix octo millia. De quo dictum est;

Anno milleno trecentenoque secundo,
 Lucescente die, festum recolente Matthiæ
 In Rosline campo nova gratia luxit ab alto,
 Nempe Johanne duce Scotorum Cominiense
 Anglis confusis, cessit victoria Scotis.

QUOMODO REX ANGLIÆ, PERAGRATIS PLANIS ET MONTANIS SCOTIÆ, RECEPIT COMMUNITATEM AD PACEM EJUS, ET OMNES FERE MAGNATES.^p

Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo tertio, rex Angliæ, cum potentia magna nimis, Angliæ videlicet, Walliæ et Hiberniæ, Vasconiæ et Sabaudiæ, ejus Comes personaliter secum fuit, et etiam princeps Walliæ, tam per mare quam per terram, in præmissarum molestiarum vindictam, Scotiam hostiliter intravit, cum deliberato consilio ad eam tunc cum suis plane et perpetue habitandam, sibi que plenarie et finaliter subjugandam; vel ipsius incolis penitus deletis, terram ipsam in extremam et irrecuperabilem vastitatem redigendam. Peragratis igitur tam montanis quam planis, tam ultra montes quam citra, in propria persona ad Lochindorb pervenit, et ibidem aliquamdiu moram faciens, partes boreales ad pacem recepit; qui, in castris et villis firmatis universis sibi redditis, suos ordinavit ministros. Et inde pedetentim rediens, universas communitates ad pacem capiens, simul cum municipiis et castellis per terras quas lustravit, nullo resistente vel vim inferente, post multos circuitus terrarum ad Dumfermelyn pervenit; ubi per longum tempus moram trahens, ibidem hiemavit usque ad festum Purificationis nostræ Dominæ. Quo in anno Eadwardus de Carnarvan filius suus, princeps dictus Walliæ, in villa de Perth moram traxit; ubi per totum tempus prædictum tanta erat copia victualium, ut lagena boni vini mensuræ Scoticanæ pro quatuor denariis communiter venderetur. Eodem etiam anno, postquam tota communitas Scotiæ ad pacem regis Angliæ est recepta, Johannes Comyn tunc superior Custos, et omnes magnates, præter Willelmum Wallace et suos sequaces, successive et paulatim ad pacem ipsius venerunt, redditis castris et villis suis universis, præter castrum de Strivelyn, cum ejusdem custode. Timuit enim vehementer prædictus nobilis Willelmus fraudem suorum compatriotarum; quorum quidam sibi, ob ipsius probitatem, invidentes, alii promissis Anglicorum allecti, alii favorem propterea regis Angliæ circumaspicientes, flexuosis amfractibus sæpius et subtiliter sibi infidias paraverunt.

^p Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. iii.

Perfuasum infuper erat ei a fuis familiaribus et intimis amicis, ut et ipse, ficut et ceteri, regi Anglorum obediret, quatenus ipfi fic faltem pace potirentur. Alii infuper ab ipfo rege erant fibi miffi, ad inducendum eum ad hoc, promittentes fibi, ex parte ejuſdem regis, comitatus et amplas poſſeſſiones in Anglia, vel in Scotia, per fe eligendas, et ſucceſſoribus fuis perpetue poſſidendas. Quibus omnibus ſpretis, tanquam alter Matthias, pro libertate ſuæ gentis, fic eum ferunt reſpondiſſe, “ O deſolata Scotia ! nimium verbis fallacibus credula ! calamitatum venturarum ſatis improvifa ! ſi ſentires mecum, collum tuum ſub jugo de facili non poneres alieno. Cum autem ego,” inquit, “ adolerem, a patruo meo preſbytero hoc unicum proverbium, cunctis opibus præponendum, didici et ſemper in mente notavi, videlicet,

‘ Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam ſervili ſub nexu vivito, fili.’

“ Et ideo breviter dico, quod ſi omnes Scotigenæ regi Angliæ obedi- ant, vel diſcedat unusquiſque a libertate ſua, ego et confodales mei, mihi in hac parte adhærere volentes, ſtabimus pro libertate regni ; et, niſi regi vel locumtenenti ejus, propitiuſ ſit nobis Deus, alii non obediemus.”

Eodem anno, idem rex Angliæ apud Sanctam Andream quadrageſi- mavit ; ubi, convocatis omnibus regni majoribus, ſuum tenuit parliamen- tum ; et pro ſtatu regni ſibi et ſuis ſucceſſoribus, ut credebat, imperpe- tuum acquiſiti et adepti, ſimul de ipſius incolis, prout voluit, ordinavit.

QUOMODO REX OBSESSIT CASTRUM DE STRIVELYN, ET DE INITIIS ROBERTI
DE BRUCE.⁹

Statim poſt Paſcha, ſcilicet, anno Domini m.ccciv., idem rex per tres menſes continuos caſtrum de Strivelyn obſeſſit ; ad cujus machinas con- ſtruendas totum plumbum monaſterii Sancti Andree deponi mandavit, et ad Strivelyn juſſit deportari. Tandem autem caſtrum prædictum, ſub certa conditione in ſcriptis redacta et ſuo ſigillo confirmata, ſibi red-

⁹ Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. iv.

ditur et confirmatur. Sed ipse rex, obtento castro, fide mentita et conditione violata, Willelmum de Oliferd, insignem militem, custodem ipsius, vincitum Londoniis carceri mancipavit, et per multa tempora tenuit mancipatum.

Eodem anno, receptis ad pacem tam majoribus quam minoribus regni Scotiæ, excepto Willelmo Wallace solo, redditis sibi castris et villis firmatis universis a Weyk in Cathenesia usque Mullersnook in Galweya, reædificatis etiam prius dirutis et destructis, suisque custodibus ibidem constitutis; post juramenta fidelitatis et homagia præstita ab omnibus et singulis Scotigenæ nationis, reversus idem rex, cum principe Walliæ Eadwardo filio suo et universo suo exercitu, in Angliam, relicto tamen uno principali custode, suum locum tenente; scilicet, Odomaro de Valance, ad reformandos et corrigendos excessus ceterorum omnium, tam Scotorum quam Anglicorum; et post hæc in Scotia non comparuit. Post cujus recessum, principante Anglicana natione in universis partibus regni Scotiæ, atque Scotos multifariis multisque modis injuriis, flagellis et cædibus, sub diræ jugo servitutis crudeliter affligente, misericors Deus Scotorum miseriis continuis clamoribus compassus et doloribus, solito more paternæ pietatis suscitavit eis salvatorem et propugnatorem, unum scilicet de suis confratribus, nomine Robertum de Bruce; qui eos in lacu miseriæ prostratos, et omni spe salutis et auxilii totaliter destitutos videns, et dolore cordis tactus intrinsecus, tanquam alter Machabæus manum mittens ad fortia, pro fratribus liberandis, innumeros et importabiles diei æstus, frigoris et famis in terra et in mari subiit labores, non inimicorum tantum, sed etiam falsorum fratrum infidias et tædia, inedias et pericula, lætanter amplectendo. Benedictus igitur Deus, qui post nubilum dat serenum. Nam Scotis quasi in desperatione et extrema calamitate tunc constitutis, fertur de Anglia quendam sanctum heremitam hanc scripturam consolatoriam emisisse;

Crede, licet fera, veterum præfagia vera;
 In bonitati Dei fit tibi cura spei.
 Nam quæ tot pateris, quæ jam captiva videris,
 Tandem solveris. Imperialis eris.

q

Desuper eveniet virtus tibi, Scotia ; fiet
 Ultima prosperior quam tua vita prior.
 Promittunt veteres quod erit tibi belliger heres,
 Qui sua jura novans, regna sudabat ovans.
 Stragibus immensis sudabit Scoticus ensis ;
 Rex perdet cuneos ultor ubique reos.
 Corruet Angligena per eum gens, non sine poena,
 Ense, fiti, fletu, pesti, timore, metu.
 Hostibus afflictis, fratris, per proelia victis,
 Scotia, tuque tui plaudite pace frui.

DE CONFEDERATIONE BRUCE ET COMYN, ET ACCUSATIONE BRUCE REGI
 ANGLIÆ PER COMYN.¹

Hic etenim Robertus de Bruce, comes de Carrick, anno Domini m.ccciv. una dierum a Strivilensi oppido, concomitante secum quodam majore natu regni, Johanne le Red Comyn, ut quod pro reipublicæ commodo læto suscepit animo, efficaciter opere completeret ; ad ipsum Johannem sibi fratrem in armis, genere et potentia tunc regni opimiozem, indigne patriæ subjectionem crudelem, et indefinentem populi vexationem, atque suæ piæ mentis conceptum circa ipsius elevationem, insinuans, fideliter equitando exponens, humiliter accessit. Et quamvis de jure, secundum consuetudines et leges patriæ, honor et successio regni dignitatis et regni regiminis ad ipsum, præ ceteris noscatur pertinere, utilitatem tamen communem præferens privata, eidem Johanni, ut unum e duobus eligeret, pura et sincera obtulit voluntate, aut regnare et regni regimen ex toto cum suis pertinentiis et regni honoribus sibi imperpetuum assumere, concessis eidem Roberto suis terris et possessionibus universis ; aut terras ipsius Roberti et possessiones universas sibi ipsi Johanni et suis, jure perpetuo, possidere, relicto ipsi Roberto regno et regis honore ; ut sic, per eorum mutua consilia pariter et auxilia, de domo servitutis et indignæ subjectionis matura fieret liberatio Scoticæ nationi, et inter eos indissolubilis amicitia et pacis perpetuæ foedera permanerent. Cumque alterum prædictorum ipsi Johanni summe, ut apparuit, placuisset, et super

¹ Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. v.

hoc conventio hinc inde facta, ac fide media, interpositis juramentis, per suas indenturas, cum appositione sigillorum eorundem, fuisset roberata, ipse Johannes, fide, ut dicitur, violata, et juramenti religione neglecta, eundem Robertum apud regem Angliæ per suos internuncios et literas privatas, ipsius Roberti secreta nequiter revelando, sæpius accusavit, putans quod, Roberto Bruce de medio sublato, ipse posset totius Scotiæ ducatum, sine difficultate, permissione regis Angliæ obtinere.

Perpendens igitur spiritus nequitiae per dictum Robertum multa bona regno Scotiæ provenire, et ut in conatibus suis subtiliter frustraretur, se studio propensiore ad omnia malitiæ machinamenta circumtulit. Novit equidem quod cupiditas radix est omnium malorum, mater transgressionis, magistra nocendi, primipilaria iniquitatis, auriga malitiæ, ficaria virtutum, seditionis origo, honestatis noverca, fomes odii, incentivum litis, et fovea scandalorum; ea etiam sæpe, quasi instrumento usus est, ut odia seminaret, turbaret amicitias, foedera rumperet, homicidia procuraret, incenderet urbes, regna transferret, reges a foliis populosque a suis finibus exturbaret; in jam dictum Johannem le Red Comyn tantum cupiditatis ardorem, tantam tamque damnabilem vehementiam ambitionis immisit, ut, rupto foedere, irrito juramento, suum fidelem focium, nil mali suspicantem, prodicionis machinamento cogitaret appetere, ut, eo subtilius per tyrannidem regis Angliæ interemto, in labores illius introiret, ipsiusque regnum, sibi et non alteri de jure debitum, possideret. Ecce alter Naboth, cujus occisio procuratur ut vineam ejus iniquus obtineat, et dicatur a domino possessori, "Occidisti insuper et possidisti!" Non sic, impie, non sic; sed in quem tetendisti laqueum cecidisti; quia nihil proficiet inimicus in eo, et filius iniquitatis non apponet nocere Roberto. Quid multis morer? Quamvis super conspiratione idem Robertus, suggestionibus dicti Johannis, per præmissum regem Angliæ pluries fuerat examinatus, ostensis sibi literis sui adversarii ipsum acriter accusantis, tale semper, Deo inspirante, reddidit responsum, ut regis insaniam jucunda loquela et verbis peritis, utpote non fuit suiipsum sigillifer, crebrius mitigaret; tum apud eundem regem, qui multis versutiis præditus fuit simul et astutiis, et fictam amicitiam optime noverat simulare, plurimum tamen per accusationes ipsius Johannis, tum quia verus effet regni Scotiæ heres,

suspectus habebatur. Et ideo in curia sua iussus est continue residere, propter causas suspicionis prædictæ; mortem enim sibi, vel saltem perpetuos carceres, hac potissima ratione, distulit inferre, donec ceteros ipsius Roberti fratres, uno die congregatos, simul cum eo supremo puniret supplicio.

Hoc anno deputati sunt iusticiarii de Trailbaston^a per Angliam.

DE ACCUSATIONE ET EVASIONE EJUS.^b

Crebrescente vero antedicti Johannis accusatione, tandem una nocte, cum merum splenderet in calice, et cubatum rex Angliæ cum ejus secretariis cubiculariis properaret; de morte ipsius Roberti anxius pertractavit, et, quod in die craftino eum vita privaret, breviter diffinivit. Quod cum comes Gloverniæ, ipsius Roberti verus amicus et necessitate probatus, audisset, cum suo garderopario eadem nocte^c duodecim denarios et unum par calcarium prædicto Roberto misit festinanter. Qui, iussa domini sui perficiens, prædicta venia Roberto Bruce præsentavit, atque subjunxit dicens, “ Hæc mandat vobis dominus meus, reddens quæ hesternæ die ex mutuo a vobis accepit.” Qui etiam, per oblata pignora imminens mortis periculum caute conjiciens, datis garderopario denariis, eum ad comitem, cum resolutione et gratiarum actione, protinus remisit; qui statim, accito suæ domus præposito, præcepit ut ea nocte suis hominibus bonum vultum faceret, et vino cum eis non parceret, quia ipse in camera cum suo secretario ardua esset tractaturus. Contigit quod in crepusculo nix immanis descenderat, et totam terræ superficiem cooperuerat. Unde vocavit quendam fabrum, et in stabulo, nemine sciente præter fabrum, stabularium et secretarium, fecit amovere omnia ferramenta trium suorum optimorum equorum, et retrograde affigi ungulis caballorum. Quibus clanculo ascensis, iter versus Scotiam cum secretario et stabulario arripuit properanter, die et nocte non cessans a labore, donec a prædicti regis furiis immunis reddetur, Ipso ducente^d de quo scriptum est, “ Non est fa-

^a The commission for Trailbaston may be seen in the *Fœdera*, ii. 960.

^b *Scotichronicon*, Lib. XII., cap. vi.

^c *Eodem sero pro eadem nocte.* MSS. Coll. Edinb. Cupr. et Perth.

^d *Ipsa præduce.* MSS. Coll. Ed. Cupr. et Perth.

pientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum, qui novit pios de temptatione eripere, et in se sperantes a periculis misericorditer liberare.”

Alibi reperi quod Johannes Red Comyn primus fuit qui persuasit dicto Roberto Bruce assumere sibi regnum, lamentabiliter conquerendo dicens, “ Ecce, isti Angli occidunt gentes nostras absque occasione, et regnum nostrum detinent sine ratione! Confortare ergo et esto robustus; amicos tuos confule, et arma capesce, concessisque mihi tuis possessionibus, me auxiliante, corona potieres. Sin autem, omnes terræ meæ tuæ sint. Intende et exurge in adjutorium mihi, ut vel sic ego præsim, et eris mihi secundus in regno, omniaque ad nutum tuum tractabantur.” Hujusmodi blæsis fermonibus dominus de Bruce allectus, placuit suæ voluntati alterutro præbere assensum. Cui et dixit; “ Regrator, consanguinee, tuæ consiliatrici oblationi, et dum dictis facta compenses faciam quod hortaris. Mihi enim attinet pondus regiminis, quia scio me ad hoc justitiam habiturum: et, ut dicitur, invalidum justitia plerumque efficit robustum. Talem reputabo justitiam meam, qua, per Dei gratiam, nil alienum vindicabitur, et cuique quod suum est dabitur; qua utique negligam propriam utilitatem, ut communem conservem æquitatem.” Istis sic concordatis, et hinc inde juramento vallatis, eadem nocte scriptæ sunt indenturæ, figillisque utriusque validatæ. Et post paucos dies accessit dominus Johannes Comyn ad regem Angliæ, cui revelavit conventionem. In cujus rei testimonium dedit regi indenturam. Qui, propterea nimium commotus, parlamentum statuit; ad quod cum ceteris proceribus Robertus Bruce est citatus, nihil prodicionis le Comyn præmeditatus. Comparenti dicto Roberto de Bruce rex tradidit indenturam suo sigillo sigillatum, quærens si ipse ipsam indenturam cognosceret, vel sigillum sibi ipsi apponeret. Cui Robertus; “ Inducias usque crastinum peto, ut cum indentura avisari potero, et die crastino, in pleno parlamento, ipsam illæsam repræsentabo; et ad hoc perficiendum totas terras, quas de vobis teneo, in vadium applegio.” Rex de hoc credidit se securum, donec in crastino percepit se delusum. Tunc clamor attollitur, quod sic evasit traditor. Plerique etiam admirantur, eo quod exploratum est in nive vestigia equorum accessisse ad stabulum, sed nullorum abhinc recessisse.

DE OCCISIONE DOMINI JOHANNIS COMYN PER ROBERTUM DE BRUCE.*

Tam festinanter, ut scriptum reperi, dominus Robertus Bruce gressus maturavit, quod septimo die ab incepto Londoniis itinere ad Lochmaban pervenit; ibique invenit fratrem suum Eadwardum, qui de suo adventu, tam subito quam privato, multum mirabatur. Cui ipse ex ordine, narravit quam proditorie fuerat accusatus apud regem Angliæ, et quomodo evasit manus ejus in nomine Domini. Cumque eodem die ante adventum dicti Roberti ad Lochmaban confinibus Marchiarum appropinquaret, quendam sibi obvium pedestrem habebat; quem aspiciens a longe, tam incesu quam habitu ipsum fore Scotum suspicatus est. Quem licet declinantem apprehendens interrogat, quo pergeret, et unde veniret. Et cum multiplicaret excusationes in peccatis, ex præcepto ipsius Roberti sui clientuli secreta occurrentis nuncii rimantur. Literæ missivæ sigillo dicti Johannis Red Comyn ad regem Angliæ, de securitate incarcerationis sive retentionis ipsius Roberti, sive celeriore occisione ejusdem, quam maxima et periculosa circumstantia causante, directæ protinus inveniuntur et auferuntur. Caput nuncio præciditur, et Deus, pro directione prosperi itineris, plurimum collaudatur. Illo quippe tempore dominus Johannes Red Comyn apud Dumfres perhendinavit. Cui, ad peregrinam satis remunerationem inferendam, Bruce se festinavit. Quem quidem Johannem in choro Fratrum de Dumfres, coram magno altari, Robertus deprehendit; cui salutatione fermentata, et de subjecta materia aliquantisper prælocutis, literæ missivæ ejusdem Johannis ostenduntur, et super proditorie et fide ejus mentita idem Johannes impetitur. Sed mox "mentiris" respondetur. Maledicenti in eadem ecclesia lethale vulnus infligitur, et vulneratus per dictum dominum Robertum, per manus Fratrum retro altare transportatur. Quod cum factum fuisset, Robertus Bruce, tanquam homo impatiens et extra se positus, ad introitum cœmeterii equos expetivit. Cui occurrit confanguineus suus dominus Jacobus de Lindesay, una cum Gilpatrick de Kirkpatrick, qui in ejus subsidium, ut apud Lochmaban præordinatum fuit, cucurrerunt, et attendentes ipsum

* Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. vii.

Robertum ex sanguinem, et quasi extra se positum, interrogaverunt quomodo penes se actum sit. "Male," inquit, "quia Johannem le Red Comyn, ut aestimo, interfeci." "Debet," inquit Jacobus de Lindesay, "tam arduum praesumptum revocari in dubium?" et ipse cum Gilpatrick reveftiarium intrantes, si vivere posset interrogatur; ab ipso Johanne, "Si medicum haberem, possum," protinus respondetur. Ab interrogantibus secundum vulnus infligitur. Ubi etiam dominus Robertus Comyn miles, in defensione consanguinei sui domini Johannis Comyn, cum eo vulneratus occubuit. Et sic anno Domini mcccv., iv. idus Februarii, ab hac luce subtrahuntur; et rex Angliæ Eadwardus a suo desiderio, non minus mirifice quam miraculose, ut creditur, frustratur. Nocte sequenti funere in feretro collocato, et conventu Fratrum hinc inde in choro constituto, ac psalterium et orationes repetente pro defuncto, paulo ante gallorum canticinium fallax somnus omnes Fratres irreperat, excepto quodam antiquiore et merito patre, ceteris sedulius evigilante, qui generalem ab solutionem animarum devote commemorans, audivit subito vocem tanquam vagientis parvuli penetrantius exclamantis, "Usquoque Domine vindictam differes?" Continuo ab alio admirabili et incognita voce responsum audivit, "Quod petis patienter praestolare, et hoc die anniversario, anno quinquagesimo secundo intentum assequeris."

De hac interetione dicti Johannis habentur hæc metra,

Anno milleno trecenteno quoque quinto,
 Sancta tulit moestum Scotis Scholastica festum;
 Nam mors Johannis in Dumfres Cominiensis
 Multos dejecit, et corda stupentia fecit;
 Causa suæ mortis vetus est discordia fortis.
 Hinc Scoti discant discordes, ut respiscant,
 Ut sint uniti, vel erunt certamine triti.

DE PRODITIONE JOHANNIS DE MENTETH, MORTE WILLELMI WALLACE, ET
TYRANNIDE REGIS EADWARDI.*

Hoc eodem anno nobilis Willelmus Wallace per dominum Johannem de Menteth apud Glasgw, nil mali suspicans, fraudulentè et proditionaliter capitur, regi Angliæ traditur, Londoniis demembratur, et ejus membra per diversa famosiora loca Angliæ et Scotiæ, in opprobrium Scotorum, turribus suspenduntur. In hoc iste tyrannus Eadwardus Angliæ putabat famam nobilis Willelmi delere in perpetuum, eo quod visus sit oculis insipientium tam vili morte terminari. Nec enim obfuit sibi talis mors, quia sic scriptum est ;

Mors iusti rapida, quam præcessit bona vita,
Non minuit merita, si moriatur ita.

Perpendo enim per hos tres viros, Eadwardum scilicet tyrannum, Johannem Menteth proditorem, et Willelmum Wallace innocentem, tria genera hominum, diversimode circa suam famam et nominis celebrationem in hoc seculo se disponentium :

Quidam enim nomen suum

Ambitiose magnificent ad ostentationem, sicut Eadwardus tyrannus,
Scandalose vilificant in detestationem, sicut dictus Johannes de Menteth,
Virtuose dignificant ad ædificationem, sicut Willelmus Wallace.

Primi nomen suum et famam appetantur, secundi nomen suum negligerè aspiciuntur, tertii nomen suum convenienter venerantur. Primi sunt homines vani et mundani, qui nihil aliud in suis operibus appetunt nec intendunt, nisi quod sint magni nominis et famosæ opinionis apud homines. Et isti scribunt nomina sua in cineribus, hoc est in vanis memoriis hominum, qui non sunt nisi terra et cinis. Contra tales qui sic nimis appetantur, tanquam famæ gloriam et nominis celebritatem, arguit

* Scotichronicon, Lib. XII., cap. viii.

Boetius de Consolatione, Lib. II. profa vii., declarans pulchre famæ vanitatem per quinque rationes. Vide ibi. De talibus ait poeta ;

Nomen habes sine re, sine nomine rem tibi quære ;
Si re privaveris, non nomen habere mereris.

Secundo sunt aliqui, qui nomen suum scandalose vilificant, cujusmodi sunt isti proditores et subtiles tergiversatores. Tales multum scandalizant proximos, præbentes simplicioribus occasionem prodicionis et ruinæ eorum abominandissimo exemplo. Nunc in tantum prodiciones pullulant, ut, quod dolenter referendum est, etiam magnates non se abscondunt a calore ejus. Juramenta irritant, scripta sigillata diversificant, affecurantias et treugas non servant. “Malo,” inquit Seneca, “mihi successum deesse quam fidem, quæ etiam hosti servanda est ; nam qui fidem perdit, nil potest ultra perdere.” “Tales,” ut ait Jacobus in Canonica, “blasphemant nomen bonum quod invocatum est super nos ;” istud est nomen Christi. Non ergo se profitetur bonum Christianum qui alterius traditor est, sed Judæ Iscarioti imitator est.

Tertio, sunt aliqui, qui nomen suum virtuose dignificant, qualis fuit Willelmus Wallace. Willelmus interpretatur “vir almus.” Wallace “sine væ.” Fuit, inquam, vir almus, quod probatum est post ipsius mortem, cum ipsi plerique Anglici veridici testantur, quod quidam in ipsa Anglia sanctus heremita, raptus in spiritu, vidit quasi innumeras animas de pœnis Purgatorii liberatas, quasi præstolantes aditum regni cœlestis, quoadusque per ministerium Angelorum, maximo cum honore, introducta fuit et præmissa anima ipsius Willelmi Wallace, pro fidelitate et patria sua usque ad mortem legitime decertantis ; qui nunquam Anglis se submisit, vel homagium præstitit : et ideo fuit “sine væ” reprobationis vel opprobrii. De quo propterea potest referri illud Esther, quod “fama nominis ejus crescebat quotidie.” De quo etiam, et aliis duobus præmissis, aptatur illud proverbium ; “Memoria justi cum laudibus, et nomen impiorum putrefcit.”

R

VIII.

EXTRACT FROM THE CHRONICLE OF WYNTOWN.^y

TWELF hundryne nynty yhere and feyn
Fra Cryft wes borne, the kyng of hewyn,
Willame Walays in Clyddyfdale,
That saw hys kyn supprysyd^z hale
Wyth Inglifmen in gret dyfpyte,
Sum of thare harmys he thought to qwyte.
For he wes cummyn of gentilmen,
In fympel state fet he wes then.
Hys fadyre wes a manly knyght ;
Hys modyre wes a lady brycht ;
He gottyn and borne wes in maryage.
Hys eldare brodyre the herytage
Had, and joyfyd in his dayis.

This ilk Willame the Walayis
Drew to wapnys and to gere,
As manly men than oyfyde to bere.
Wyth a fwerde bath scharpe and lang
It wes hys oys than oft to gang.

Gret dyfpyte thir Inglifmen
Had at this Willame Walays then.

^y In this extract from the Chronicle of Wyntown the text of Macpherson's edition is followed, collated with the Lanad. MS. 197, fol. 186, seqq., concerning which, see note at the end of the quotation.

^z *disprisit, L.*

Swa thai made thame on a day
 Hym for to fet in hard affay :
 Of his lang fwerd in that entent
 Fyrst thai made hym argwment
 In-til Lanark^a Inglifmen,
 Quhare a multitud war gaddryd then.
 Ane a tyt made at hys fword.
W. " Hald styllle thi hand, and spek thi worde."
I. " Wyth thi fwerd thow mais gret boft."
W. " Tharefor thi dame made lytil coff.^b"
I. " Quhat caus has thow to were the grene?"
W. " Na caufe, bot for to make the tene."^c
I. " Thow fuld noucht bere^d fa fare a knyf."
W. " Swa sayd the preyst, that swywyd thi wyf:
 Swa lang he cald that woman fayr,
 Quhill that his barne wes made thi ayre."
I. " Me-thynk^e thow drywys me to sorne."
W. " Thi dame wes swywyd, or thow wes borne."
 Fra that keft thai na ma wordis ;
 Bot fwne wes tyte owt mony fwordys
 In-to the market of Lanark,^f
 Quhare Inglifmen, bath stwr and^g stark,
 Fawcht intil gret multytud
 Agayne Willame Walays gud.
 Thare^h he gave thame dynt for dynt ;
 Thare wes na strenth, hys strak mycht stynt.
 As he wes in that stowre fechtand,
 Fra ane he strak fwne the rycht hand ;
 And fra that carle mycht do na mare,
 Theⁱ left hand held fast the buklare,

^a Langrik, *L.*^b Thairfoir thow maid richt litill cost, *L.*^c Nocht bot to mak the oft tene, *L.*^d weir, *L.*^e This and the following line are omitted in *L.*^f Lanerik, *L.*^g stout and, *L.*^h *L.* passes over this and the following line.ⁱ Than that carle as brane wod . Keist fastwith that hand the blude, *L.*

And he fwa mankyd, as brayne-wode,
 Kest fast wyth the stwmpes the blode
 In-til Willame Walays face,
 Mare cumryd of that blode he was,
 Than he was a welle lang qwhile
 Feychtand stad in that peryle.
 The Inglifmen gaddryd alfa fast,
 On this Walays, qwhill at the last,
 Fra he had wowndyt mony thare,
 That agayne hym feychstand ware,
 Til his innys, as hym behowyd,
 In gret hy he hym remowyd,
 Defendand hym rycht manlykly :
 Bot folwyd he wes rycht fellownly.

In-til the towne wes hys lemman,
 That wes a plesand fayre woman,
 And saw this Willame chaffyd fwa,
 In-til hyr hart scho wes rycht wa.
 Scho gat hym wyth-in the dure :
 That fowne thai bruffyd wp in the flure.
 Than scho gert hym prewaly
 Get owt ane-othir gat thar-by :
 And wyth hyr flycht scho tayryd than
 Hys fays, qwhill til the wod he wan.

The schyrrawe that tyme of the land,
 The kyng of Inlandis lutenand,
 Come to Lanark ; and thare he
 Gert this woman takyn be,
 And gert hyre fwne be put to dede.
 That Walays sawe in-to that sted,
 In hydlys quhare he stud nere by :
 Thare-fore in hart he wes hewy.

Than til his frendys alfa fast
 In-til the land this Walays past,

And thretty men he gat or ma :
 That ilk nycht he come wyth tha,
 That^k ware manly men and fark,
 In-to the town that tyme of Lanark.
 And quhare that he wyft the fchyrrave
 Oyfyd hys innys for til have,
 In-til a loft, quhare that he lay,
 Eftyr mydnycht before day
 Wpe he ftwrly,^l brufchyd the dure,
 And layd it flatlyngis in the flure.
 Wyth that the fchyrrawe all agaft,
 "Quha is that?" than fperyd faft.
 Sayd Willame Walays, "Here am I,
 Will the Walays,"^m that befily
 Thow has fet theⁿ for to fla.
 Now to-gydder mon we ga :
 The womannys dede of yhyftyrday
 I fall now qwyt, gyf I may."
 Alfa faft than eftyr that
 The fchyrrave be the throt^o he gat,
 And that hey stayre he harlyd^p hym down,
 And flw hym thare wyth-in the town.
 Fra he thus the fchyrrawe flwe,
 Scottis men faft til hym drwe,
 That wyth the Inglis oft tyme ware
 Aggrevyd, and fuppryfyd fare :
 And this Willame thai made thare
 Oure thame cheftane and leddare,
 For he dwrft welle tak on^q hand.
 Wyth that he fayre wes,^r and plefand,

^k This couplet is omitted in *L*.

ⁿ Is in set the, *L*.

^r Fair man he wes, *L*.

^o nek, *L*.

^l sturdely, *L*.

^p drew, *L*.

^m William Wallace, *L*.

^q draw on, *L*.

Manlyk, stowt, and^a liberale,
 And wys^t in all gud governale :
 To sla he sparyd noucht Inglifmen.
 Til Scottis he dyd gret profyt then.
 The grettaft lordis of oure land
 Til hym he gert thame be bowand :
 Ild^a thai, wald thai, all gert he
 Bowfum til hys byddyng be :
 And til hys byddyng, qwhay war noucht bown,
 He tuk, and put thame in presown.
 Of castellis, bowrrowys, and fortalys
 The grettaft made hym thare ferwys ;
 The Inglifmen owt of oure land
 He gert be put wyth stalwart hand.

Swa ras thare fwne rycht hey fame
 Of the Walays this Willame :
 And to the kyng Edward of England
 Come of hys dedis fwne tythand,
 For he wes-occupyid at hame,
 He fend schyr Hw of Carfyngame,
 That that tyme wes Trezorare,
 In Scotland wyth a gret poware.

This Wallame Walays of Dunde
 Affegeand the castelle wes, quhen he
 Herd that there come ane new oft
 Owt of England, wyth gret boft,
 Wyth this schyr Hw of Karffyngame.
 This ilke Walays than Willame
 A^v payne of lyf and lyme bathe he
 Bade the burges of Dunde,

^a wyse and, *L.*^a and stout, *L.*^a This and the following line, as well as the couplet beginning "Of castellis," are not to be found in the Lansdowne MS.^v Under, *L.*

At that affege that thai fuld ly,
 And kepe that castelle rycht stratly,
 Quhill that thai wan the Inglifmen,
 That occupyid that castell then.
 And wyth this curt than alfa fast
 Til Stryvelyne this Willame Walays past :
 And at the bryg of Forth, Willame
 The Walays met wyth Karffyngame.
 Thare thai mellayd into fycht,
 Quhare mony dowre to ded wes dycht ;
 Thare thai layid on alfa fast ;
 Thare Karffyngame at the last
 Wyth the mast part of his men
 Slayne be-fyd the bryg wes then.
 And all the lawe owt of that stede
 Than turnyd the bak, and away fiede.
 The Scottis folowyd fast on then :
 Quhare^v-evyr thai ouretuk the Inglifmen,
 Thai sparyd nane, bot slwe all down.
 Walays of this had gret renowne ;
 For^x al hale the wyctory
 The Scottis had of this jupardy ;
 And few wes slayne of Scottis men.
 Bot Androwe of Murrawe slayne wes then :
 Fadyr til gud schyre Androw he
 Wes, and pryfyd of gret bownte.
 This dyde Walays at Strevelyne,
 And hely wes commendyt syne.
 Fra wencust he had Karffyngame,
 Heyare and heyare ay wes hys fame ;
 And, throwe the kynrik as he past,
 The stais til hym bowyd fast.^y

^v Quba, *L.*^x This and the following line are omitted in *L.*^y The cuntre, *L.*

And fyne fra the Alhalowmes^a
 In Yngland til Yhule he bydand wes.
 All Allyrdayle as man of were
 That tyme he brynt wyth his powere :
 And wyth gret prayis^a owt of that land
 Come eftyr the Yhule in-til Scotland,
 And all kyn-kynd of Inglifmen
 He gert put owt of Scotland then.

.

OF THE FAWKYRK FOLOWIS HERE
 THE BATAYLLE IN THIS CHAPITERE.*

Twelf hyndyre aucht and nynty yhere
 Fra^b borne had Cryft the Madyn clere,
 Willame Walays in Scotland
 Wes the statis^c hale rewland,
 And commendyt wes rycht welle
 In all his dedis ilke dele,
 Quhen wyth the lang-schankis the kyng Edwart
 Had herd in Inngland eftyrwart,
 How in-til Scotland than Willame
 Walays had met wyth Karffyngame,
 And had hym and his men all slayne,
 Quhare-of this Edward wes noucht fayne,^d
 In Scotland wyth a gret powere
 Gaddryd he come, as man of were.
 On Saynt Mary Magdalenys day
 At the Fawe-kirk affemblyd thai.
 Thare Willame Walays tuk on hand,
 Wyth mony gret lordys of Scotland,
 To mellay wyth that kyng in fycht :
 Thare mony dowre to dede wes dycht.

^a The feist, *L.*

^c Price, *L.*

^b Lichtair was the, *L.*

^e Scottes, *L.*

^d Thairof I trowe he was, *L.*

^c Chap. xv.

This kyng Edward of Ingland then
 Of Scotland had mony gentilmen,
 That for dyspyt and gret inwy
 Til hym drw malityowfly :
 And the Cwmynys in tha dayis
 Welle luwyd noucht Willame the Walays.
 Bot yhit the lele Scottis men,
 That in that feld ware feychtand then,
 To-gyddyr ftwd fa fermly[•]
 Strykand before thame manlykly,
 Swa that nane thare thyr l thame mycht,
 Bot Robert the Brows than wyth a flycht,
 (He thare wes wyth this kyng Edwart,
 Set he oure^f kyng wes eftyrtwart)
 Wyth schyre Anton the Bek, a wily man,
 Of Durame byschape he wes than,
 A-bowt ane hill a well fere^s way
 Owt of that stowre than prikyd thay ;
 Behynd bakkis alfa fast
 Thare thai come on, and layid on fast ;
 Swa made thai the dyscumfytowre.
 The Scottis thare slayne war in that stoure.
 Thare Jhon Stewart a-pon fute,
 Wyth hym the Brandanys thare of Bute,
 And the gentilmen of Fyf
 Wyth Makduff, thare tynt the lyf.
 For dyspyt and gret inwy
 The Cwmynys kyn all halyly^h
 Fyrft left the^l feld ; and, as behowyd,
 Syne Willame Walayis hym remowyd :
 For he perfawyd gret malys
 Agayne hym scharpyd mony wys.

• Stude stalwerthly, *L.* ^f That our, *L.* ^s Far, *L.* ^h Him halely, *L.* ^l Lift in the, *L.*

Wyth-owtyn dowl that ilke day,
 Quhen mony Scottis fled away,
 Quhare ewyre thai hapnyd to be oure-tane,
 All thai ware flayne down evyrilkane.
 The^a Inglifmen had halyly
 Of that jowrnay the wyctory.

Before than couth na man fay,
 Na nevyr¹ wes fene befor that day,
 Sa hale wencuft the Scottis men :
 Na it had noucht fallyn then,
 Had noucht falsheid and inwy
 Devyfyd thame fa fyndryly.^m

Eftyr that batalle few dayis,
 This forfayd Willame the Walayis
 Perfawyd, how he wes in gret leth
 Had wyth the Cwmynys, and in thare wreth,ⁿ
 And in dowl of trefown stad,
 Be fwylyk taknys^o as he had.
 Befyd the Wattyre of Forth he
 Forfwk wardane evyr to be,
 Or fwylyk ftate in Scotland hald ;
 Tak thai curys^p quha-evyr wald :
 For leware he had to lyve fymply,
 Na wndyre^q fic dowl in fenyhowry ;
 Na the lele comownys of Scotland
 He wald noucht, had peryft wndyr his hand.

Of his gud dedis and manhad
 Gret gestis, I hard fay, ar made ;
 Bot fa mony, I trow noucht,
 As he in-til hys dayis wroucht.

^a This and the following line are omitted in *L.*

ⁿ And in breith, *L.* • Be sik sere takynnys, *L.*

¹ Ne eftir, *L.*

^p That cure, *L.*

^m Sa halely, *L.*

^q Na be vnder, *L.*

Quha all hys dedis of prys wald dyte ;^r
Hym worthyd a gret buk to wryte,^{rr}
And all thai to wryte in here
I want bathe wyt and gud layfere.^s

^r Write, *L.*

^{rr} Him behovit put mekill in dyte, *L.*

^s The following MS. note, by "William Guthrie, Esq.," throws some light upon the history of this manuscript, which was not collated for Macpherson's admirable edition :—"This MS. formerly belonged to the Sinclairs of Roslyn, an ancient family in Lothian, in Scotland, and then to the Kers of Kirtony ; and I am apt to think that it had been carry'd from Scotland by Cromwell, and presented to Fairfax, who was very curious in MSS. collections ; and probably the Lord Sommers bought it at the sale of the Duke of Buckingham, who marry'd Fairfaxes daughter and heires."

IX.

EXTRACT FROM THE ROYAL MANUSCRIPT, 20 A. iii.^t

DEL CONQUESTE DE BEREWYKE. Cap. clxxvii.

APRES qe les deux cardinals furent retournez en Fraunce pur trette del acord a Cambray, entre le roi Dengleterre et le roi de Fraunce, le roi Dengleterre maunda illoiques de fes countes, cest a faoir, fire Ed-mound, foun frere, counte de Lancastre, fire Henre de Lascy, counte de Nicol, fire William de Vescy, baroun, et bien quartorze barnetz Dengleterre.

Et meismes cel temps le roi Edward prist foun voiage vers Escoce, sur fire Johan de Baillol, roi Descoce; et fire Robert de Roos de Werke feu fui des Engleis, et foi mist a les Escotz; et le roi Edward foi mist a Berewyke et assegea la ville, et ceux de deinz foi defenderent egrement, et mistrent a flambe deux des neefs le roi Edward; si ly difrent en re-proece,

^t Another copy of this Chronicle is preserved in the Cottonian MS. Domit. A. x. (fol 76,) agreeing pretty closely with the Royal MS., as the following extract will show:—

Après qe les deux cardinals furent returnez en France pur trette de la pes a Caumbrai par qei le roi maunda illoiques de ses countes et barons, cest assavoir sire Eamon son frere counte de Nichole, sire William de Vescy, et autres grantz seignurs assets bien .xiiij. banerets des meillours Dengleterre.

Et en mesure le temps le roi prist son veage vers Escoce sur Johan le Baillol, et Robert de Roos de Werke senfuit de Engleis et se mist a les Escoz, et sire Edward se mist a Berewike et assegea la ville, et ceux de deinz se defendirent egrement et mistrent en flambe deux de les neefs sire Edward. Et le roi a force passa les fosses et assaillist les portes et conquist la ville, [etc.]

The more important variations between the two copies are pointed out in the following notes.

“ What wende the kȳng Edward
 For his langge schankes,
 For to wȳnne Berewyke,
 Al oure vnthankes ?
 Go pike it him ;
 And when he it have wonne,
 Go dike it him.”

Quant le bon roi Edward oi ceste reproece taunt fist il par sa prufce qe il affailli les portes, et passa et conquist la ville, et occist par foun gracios poer vynt et cink mille et sept centz.^u Lors ne perdi le roi a cele conqueste hom de renoun, fors vn gentil quens fire Richard de Cornewaille, qe vn Fleming occist hors de la Rouge sale de vn quarrel, si com le dit Richard auala foun healme et lour commanda foi rendre a la grace le roi, par quei la sale ert arse et touz ceux de deinz enfement,^v si ne perdy le roi plus de simple gentz a cele conqueste fors vint et oyt de gentz perdifres. Cestes vous qe le gardeyn del chastel le rendi fus saunz assaut, et illoeques furent pris William Douglas, Simond Frifel, et le counte Patrik foi^w rendy a la pees. Mais Ingram de Humfreuille et Robert de Brus, qe estoient od le roi Edward, tournerent a les Escotz et tindrent^x countre le roi mais, tost a force puis foi^y rendirent le roi Edward et cil les fist mettre en prisoun, mais puis le roi les pardona lour trespas et les deliuera. Lors pensa le roi de la reproece qe les Escotz ly distrent einz qil ount conquis Berewyce, si fist la ville clore de bon mur et de foessée. Apres ceo Robert de Roos de Werke sen vait en Tyndale et mist a flambe Woxbragge^z et Excesham^a et Lamerstok, et occist et robbea la gent de pais et puis prist il Dunbarre ; et le primer meskerdi de Marc3 le roi Edward maunda le counte de Garenne, fire Henri de Perci et fire Hughe le Despenfer barouns, od moult beale compaignie, pur assieger le chastel ; mais fire Richard Siward traitre losenger, qe ert de la garnesture, foi sotilla pur enginner les Engleis par descite qil leur rendreit le chastel, sil leur voleient graunter respit taunt qe al oitisme jour apres, iffint qil porreit en

^u xxv.m. et vij.c.^v Tute abatue et arse et touz ceux qi leinz feurent.^w Se.^x Comencèrent a tenir.^y Ils se.^z Woxebrigge.^a Excesham.

meen temps maunder lestat de la garnesture a fire Johan Baillol roi Descoco, qe fil ne volüst remuer la siege le oitisme iour auant dit il^b rendreient le chastel as Engleis, et a ceo foi^c mist il en hostage. Le messager vint tost al roi Johan Baillol ou il ert en tapinage od soun host, et ly dist soun message endreit del rescus del dit chastel. Estes vous qe le Baillol, en countre le purport del couenaunt qe se tailla entre les Engleis et la dite garnesture endreit del rescus al oitisme jour auant dit, prist soun host et vynt lendemain matin vers le chastel. Et com fire Richard Siward qe ert en hostage od les Engleis les vist il ert joious, si quideit qe les Engleis ferroient desconfitz si lour dist " Ha Dieu ! com jeo voi venir gent de beal appareil jeo menvois eux affailler ;" mais fire Hughe le Despenfer entendi qe ceo ert par a traizon^d le dit fire Richard qe les Escotz vindrent fur eux taunt sodeynement et dist " Ha ! Richard traître vostre traifoun ja ne vous valdra une allie,"^e lors le fist il tost lier les mains et piez ensemble et puis se moua od les Engleis vers lour enemys, si occistrent les Engleis des Escoteis vint et deux mille, car les Escotz nauoient a cele heure entre eux hom de value fors fire Patrike de Graham qe foi defendi com bier, et fust occis. Lors distrent les Engleis in reproce des Escoteis,

" Skiterende Scottes
Hald men for fottes,
Of wrenches vnware ;
Erle in a morwenyng,
In an euel timyng,
Driuen thei were fro Dunbarre."^f

Quant ceux de la garnesture del chastel de Dunbarre auoient veu la desconfiture, il rendirent le chastel as Engleis et obligerent corps, terres et chateux al roi Edwarde ; et il les maunda a la Toure de Loundres en garde.^g

^b Ils voloient rendre.

^c Il se mist.

^d Qe ceo fust treson compasse.

^e Haa ! traître esprouee ! vostre traizon ne vous vaudra.

^f This is omitted in the Cottonian MS.

^g Edward, et si estoient donque pris el chastel treis countes, .vij. barons, .xxvij. cheualers, .xj. clers, et .vij. pikartz, et tous feurent mandes a la Tour de Loundres.

COMENT LE ROY EDWARD DE SA GRACE DELIUERA LES CHIUENTAINS
DESCOCE HOERS DE PRISOUN ET COMENT IL SOI ALLIERENT AS FRAUNCEIS
PAR ABETTEMET WILLIAM WALEIS. Capitulum clxxviii.

Quant le roi Edward out a cete foiz finiz sa guerre et pris les chiuentains Descoce, adonque vÿnt fire Johan Baillo et foi rendi al roi et a sa grace et fust mesne a la Tour de Loundres et quant le roi vint illoeqes il les apella devaunt ly et les arefona coment il voleient^b restorer sa grant perde qil auoit par eux, et cil se mistrent touz en sa mercy. "Seignurs," fait le roi, "ieo ne voil mÿe voz terres, einz voil que vous moi facez le ferment sur le corps Ihesu Crist¹ de estre deormais loials a moy, et que iammes armes countre moi ne porterez;" et tut ceo ly otrierent ils de bone volente et firent le ferment, cest asavoir fire Johan Comyn, le quens de Statherne, les quens de Carrik, et quatre euesques pur tote la clergie. Et iffint le roi les deliuera et leur dona sauf conduit desques en leur pais.^k Ne demora gaire^l apres qil ne leuerent altre foiz countre le roi Edward, car les gentz le roi estoient pris en Gascoigne, si com auant dit.^m Mais fire Johan de Baillo roi Descoce entendi que la terre Descoce irreyt ahoute pur leur faufine, et sen vait outre la meer en Fraunce et vesquist al meux qil pout sur ses terres, et la foi tint il saunz reuenir, par quei les Escotz ly apellerent Johan Tomtabard, pur ceo que il leffa le roialme Descoce tant legerement a noun chaler. Parount les Escotz choiferent a leur souerein William Waleis, vn ribaud estrait de nient, que fist pus grant damage as Engleis. Lors pensa le roi Edward com il porroit auoir la deliueraunce de ses gentz, que pris furent en Gascoigne, et passa outre en Flaundres pur guerroyer le roi de Fraunce, et le counte de Flaundres le receust a graunt honur et ly obligea sa terre a sa volente. Quant le roi de Fraunce entendi que le roi Dengleterre fust ariue en Flaundres od graunt poer pur ly destrure, il foi douta mult et requist le roi Dengleterre de triwes de deux aunz, iffint que marchaunds Engleis et Fraunceis poessent de ambe partz aler saluement. Et le roi Edward ly otra sa priere ay tieles qil vft le deliueraunce de sa gent qi furent pris en Gascoigne, et le roy de Fraunce

^a Vodroient.

¹ Guerres.

¹ Sur les seints euangelies.

^m From here to "lors pensa" omitted in the MS. Cott.

^k Sauf conduit en lor pais demene.

ert mult lee de cele pees duraunt la triwe, et ly deliuera les prifoners qe furent pris en Gascoigne. A cel temps les Escotz mauderent per leuesqe de Seynt Andre al roi de Fraunce et a fire Charles soun frere, et ly prierent qe fire Charles venist od soun poer en Escoce, et il od lour poer le rescuereit et od ly irroient a destrure tote Engleterre.^a Le roi ne estoundi mie le meffage le dit euesqe, ne ne graunta nul aide a les Escotz, per quei leuesqe retourna en Escoce; ne purquant les Escotz bierent focour les Fraunceis en taunt qe le roi de Fraunce ne les fist en condit de aide, et comencerent a robber et a destrure Northumberland et firent mult de mals.

COMENT WILLIAM WALEIS FIST TUER SIRE HUGH DE CRESSINGHAM.

Capitulum c.lxxix.

Lors ert la nouele venue al roi Edward qe William Waleis out taunt de poer et feignurie, qe touz les Escoteis furent a ly entendauntz pur occir les Engleis et pur destrure la terre; dount le roy Edward se coroucea et maunda par ses lettres al counte de Garenne, a fire Henry Percy, a fire William de Latymer, et a fire Hugh de Cressingham soun Tresorer,^o qe il preissent poer et alassent en Northumberlande et auant en Escoce pur defendre les parties. Quant William Wallace oy la nouele il se mist a la fuite, et les Engleis le chacerent taunt qil vindrent a Struelyn et la foi tindrent. Estes vous qe William Waleis de jour en altre escria les Engleis, et les manacea, et fist et dist tut le despit qil pout. Iffint qe les Engleis iffirent per yn jour matin hors del chastel a la muntaunce de dis mille, et passerent le pount, et William Waleis vint od graunt poer et les chacea a rere, car les Engleis nauoient foisoun countre les Escotz a cele foiz, einz senfuirent; dount cil qe poeient passer le pount eschaperent en le chastel; mais fire Hughe de Cressingham Tresorer le roi illoeqes occis, dount le doel ert mult graunt. A cele temps auoit le roi Edward Dengleterre esploitee en Flaundes fes bofoignes en dreit de la deliuerance de

^a Engleterre Descoce desques en kent et en oco saffirent les Escos, mes le roi Phelippe ne voleit assentir mes ne purquant les Escos comencerent robber et destruire en Northumberland et firent lor cheuanteyn yn ribaud William Waleis estret de nient.

^o The Cottonian Manuscript here passes at once to the words "Tresorer le roi" beneath.

ses barouns qe furent pris en Gascoigne, et sen reuint en Engleterre et prift donques soun chemyn vers Escoce, et vint en la terre al Ascencion, et fist mettre a feu quaunt qil troua devant ly ; mais les poeures paiffauntz ly vindrent espeffement, et ly requistrent pur Dieu qil vst de eux pitee et mercy ; le roi en out de eux pitee, et defendi qe nul homme ne feist si bien noun a ces renduz, ne as gentz ordinez, ne a seinte esglise, einz fist il espier par tut il porreit trouver nul de ses felouns. Lors vint vn espie, et dist al roi qe les Escotz furent assemblez pour doner bataille. Estes vous qe le roy Edward vint a Foukirke^q le jour de la Magdaleyne et dona bataille a les Escotz, en quele bataille^r trent et deux mille furent occis, et des Engleis vint et oit faunz plus morrurent illoeqes, entre les queux out vn vaillaunt chivaler occis qe fust hospiteler, Brian de Jay per noun, car quaunt William Waleis sen fui de la bataille, le dit frere William le sui, mes soun destrer futhi^s en vn mareeis desques al ventre, et Waleis se vist si retourna et ly occist illoeqes, et ceo estoit graunt damage. Lors sen vait le roi Edward par my Escoce, espiaunt par tut sil pout trouver nul de ses enemys, mais il ny out ce ly qe ly oseit attendre ; et donque retourna le roi Edward vers le South, car il voleit eiseer ses gentz pur le yuern qe fust en venaunt. Et quant il vint a Loundres il fist redrefcer plufours meffaitz qe vaistiz furent countre sa pees taunt com il estoit en Flaundes.

DEL DERREIN MARIAGE LE ROI EDWARD ET SOUN TIERCZ ALEE EN
ESCOCE. Cap. c.iiij^{xx}.

Lors estoit il ordine par la court de Rome qe le roi Edward prift Margarete le foer le roi Phelippe de Fraunce, et lerceuesque Robert de Wynchelsea les esposas ; par quei la pees ert afferme entre le roi Dengleterre et le roi de Fraunce, et donque sen ala le roi Edward le tiercz foiz en Escotz. Et deinz le primer an il out la terre taunt enfaminee qe il ny out vn soul Descotz qe ne vint a sa merci, fors vne compaigne^t qe de nouel furent entrez en le chastel de Estruelyn,^u qe de vitaille esteit estuffee pur sept aunz.

^p Attendre.

^s Saficcha.

^q Fankirke.

^r Ribaudaile.

^t Bataille feurent occis des Escoz .lx. m.

^u Striuelyn.

DEL SIEGE DE ESTRIUELYN. Cap. c.iiij.^{xx} j.

Ne demora apres gaires de temps qe le roi Edward Dengleterre ne vint a Striuelyn et affegea illoeqe le chafstel, mais il ne pout les Escotz damager, taunt fust le chafstel fort et bien defenduz. Lors se purpenfa le roi Edward de vne quointife, et fist leuèr deux haltes furches deuaunt le tour de chafstel, et fist soun ferment qe touz ceux de la garnesture ferroient penduz, tut fufent il countes ou barouns fil fufent a force pris, fil ne foi rendiffent a fa pees. Quant ceux dedein3 oirent la manace il foi rendirent a la grace le roi, et le roi les pardona soun mal talent, et illoeques firent touz les grauntes Descoce serement al roi Edward qil vendroient touz a Loundres a soun parlement et esterroient a fa ordinaunce.

DEL TRAILLEBASTOUN. Cap. c.iiij.^{xx} ij.

.

DE LA MORT WILLIAM WALEYS. Cap. c.iiij.^{xx} iij.

Lors auait le bon roi Edward sa volentee en Gales en Gascoigne et en Escoce, et ses traitres out il confounduz, fors soulement vn rybaud William Waleys, qe ne se voleit vnqes humilier al roi.^v Mais en la veille feint Dominik, lan del regne le roi Edwarde trent et tiercz, fust le dit William Waleys pris et presentee al roi, mais le roi ne le voleit regarder, einz le maunda a Loundres od soun juggement; et illoeqe en la veille saint Bartholomee fust il traigne, penduz, decolee, desboele, et ses boels ars et soun corps quartornee, et sa teste ficchee fur vne launce et fust mis fur le pount de Loundres, et ces quatre membres furent maunde3 as quatre chiefs villes Descoce, en remembraunce qe les autres Descoce foi enfourmassent coment il se contenderoyent vers leur liege seigneur.

DE LA MORT JOHAN WALEYS. Cap. c.iiij.^{xx} xj.^w

Quaunt les feignours Descoce estoient mortz et confounduz pur leur faufine, lors ert Johan le frere William Waleis pris, et termina tut ensement com Johan counte de Atheles fist deuaunt.

^v qi ne se voleit onqes obliger ne humilier au roi.

^w This chapter is omitted in Domit. A. x.

X.

EXTRACT FROM THE COTTONIAN MANUSCRIPT,

DOMIT. A. III., fol. 36, b.²

ANNO m.cc.97, cum dictus rex Edwardus tranffretasset in Flandriam, circa, scilicet, festum decollationis sancti Johannis Baptistæ, iterum rebellaverunt Scoti, duce quodam ribaldo, dicto Willelmo le Waleys, frequenter etiam a suis propter scelera sua forbannito; quem rex, propter illius malitiam, ad pacem suam non admiserat. Scoti igitur ipsius ducatu, nimia crudelitate sævientes, Northamhumbriam et Westmeriam invadentes, omnia devastant ac succendunt, ætati non parcentes nec fexui. In quadragesima vero sequente, cum per summum pontificem dominum Bonifacium .8., pro reparatione pacis inter reges Franciæ et Angliæ, treuga esset data, et ab eisdem regibus accepta, rediit rex Edwardus in Angliam, et etiam exercitus illius qui fuerat in Vasconia. Rex vero, congregato exercitu copioso, adivit Scotiam contra rebelles sibi ac perjuros pugnaturus; quos in multitudine gravi contra se condemnatos reperiens, agreditur; et, commisso proelio, annuente Domino, victoria potitur. Et fuit hoc bellum anno Domini m.cc.98, in die sanctæ Mariæ Magdalensæ inter primam et terciam, ad .vij. miliaria de Streuelin, in loco qui Anglice vocatur "Fowechapele," Gallice "la Vere Chapele," ubi ceciderunt de Scotis circiter .80. milia, reliquis illa vice se fuga salvantibus. Anglici vero nullam jacturam suorum habuerunt, præter equorum qui in primo congressu vulnerabantur, excepto Magistro Templariorum in Anglia, Briand de Jay vocato, qui indiscrete W. Walensem ducem Scotorum persecutus, interemptus est.

² The writer of this Chronicle states, (fol. 36, b.,) that he was present at the funeral of William de Bello Campo, earl of Warwick, who died on the feast of SS. Primus and Felicianus, and was interred before the great altar in the church of the Friars Minors at Worcester, on the 5 kal. of May 1296.

XI.

EXTRACT FROM THE HARLEIAN MANUSCRIPT,
1348, fol. 17.⁷

EN mefme le tens leva un novel debat en Efcocce per le avant dit Johan de Bailolf, que contre fon ferement commence fon homage tranfverfer, par ont la guere fe prift a celý roy Edward en Gask', Gales e Efcocce, tut a une foiz ; mes taunt efpleite lý roys en Gales que le dit Madd' e tut ly altre potestaz fe vendent pleynement en fa grace, le quil Madd' il comanda a la tur de Lond', e les altrez prifonz a diverfe chafrels permy fon realme. Si fen vait erraunt en Efcocce, et conquift le vile de Berwyke, e pus fen vait a Donbar, e conquift la bataille, ou le dit Johan fe rend, e oue lý tuz lez meillors contes e barons de la terre, fi les meve oue lý a Lond', aufi cum conquerour de tote la terre Defcoco. E quant il eft a Lond' en fon pleyn parlement, ia fe funt conte e baroun Defcoco a novel condicion obligez, que de lý, aufi cum de lour conquerour, tendrunt terre e tenementz a tuz jurs ; e lý roy per novele ferement e novele fyn fafte lez recungie en Efcocce. Se retýnt le avant dýt Johan, aufi cum roy abatu, en prifon perpetuel, per que le accion cele terre týnt, e tenýr clamera, aufi cum pure conquete despe. Kaunt ly roy Edward aveit ceus avantdýs debatz duement fyniz, fi se anguiffa grauntment de fe[s] terres en Gask', que par trayfon lý font detenuz⁸ En

⁷ This manuscript was written about the middle of the reign of Edward the Third.

⁸ Some sentences unconnected with our subject are here omitted.

quele absense le roy, se conseillent lez auanz diz felons Descoce autre guere commencer, en favour de un rybaut, WILL' WALEYS, dunt ly roy, a sa venue hors de Flandres, fu freschement ocupe3, perunt e ly ont un bataille, que len apele Faukyrke. E pus a restut son vivant, ly leverent anguiffes e travaux, per embracement de mal e de guere, que de an en an ly abetterent en E scoce, que ly roys a sa revenue tutdy3 ben et bel escheuy, e per vertu de guere tutdis les reprist, e per noveale ferement les reclama.

XII.

EXTRACT FROM THE HARLEIAN MANUSCRIPT, 229, fol. 45.*

ANNO gratiæ m.cc.xcvij., et regis Edwardi xxvj., commiffum est bellum apud Foukyrke, in die beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, in quo ceciderunt .lx. millia Scottorum. Verumtamen Scoti paulatim invalescentes per .xxx. annos ufque ad tempora regis Edwardi poft conquestum tertii, Anglos et Anglorum vicina loca sæpius proteruerunt.

Anno Domini m.ccc.v., et regis Edwardi xxxiiij., captus est in Scotia capitalis genti Anglorum inimicus Willelmus Waleis, Scotus; qui præcepto regis ductus Londonias, ibidem tractus et fufpenfus et decapitatus est.

* This MS. is in quarto, written upon vellum, in the fourteenth century, being continued in the same hand as far as the year 1372. The following inscription shows its former place of deposit, "Liber Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Sanctique Egwini Eveshamiæ."

XIII.

EXTRACT FROM ROYAL MANUSCRIPT,
14, C. i, fol. 4.^b

QUÆDAM recapitulatio brevis de gestis domini Edwardi regis, cum quibusdam aliis accedentibus in tempore suo.

Quoniam sacra Scriptura dicit, Laudate post mortem, prædica securum ; post obitum domini Edwardi illustris regis Angliæ recapitulando in genere et compendiose concludendo frater Willelmus de Rishanger cronicator, de multis pauca tangendo, ad Dei honorem et animæ regis recommendationem redigit in scripturam.

.....
De ista materia cronigraphus metricè scribens breviter sic ait,

Edwardus rex Angliæ Scotos expugnavit,
Eorum hostiliter vires enervavit,
Walliamque Scotiam sibi subjugavit ;
Willelmus Wales dux Scotorum latitavit.

^b This metrical effusion is, perhaps, from the pen of William de Rishanger, a monk of St Albans, concerning whose writings see Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 634. The title and prologue given above, which follow upon the reverse of the same folio in the Royal MS. from which these lines are transcribed, convey further information upon the subject.

Tandem captus vinculis strictis mancipatur,
Et ductus Londonias, ibi judicatur,
Tractusque suspensus est, tandem decollatur ;
Qui primo risit, post hæc merito lacrimatur.

Talis in memoria rex fit sempiterna,
Qui rebelles subditos compulit eterna
Sua mala plangere, novaque moderna ;
In cœlis anima quiescat pace superna.

XIV.

EXTRACT FROM THE PATENT ROLL,
41 Edw. III. p. i. M. 11.

D exemplificacōe.} R' oñibz ad quos &c factm. Inspexim⁹ quasdam
lras patentes quas dñs E' nup Rex Angl pat⁹ nř fecit Margarete filie t
heredi Robti de Roos de Werkř sup Twedam in hec vba

Edwardus dei gra Rex Angl Dñs hiñ t Dux aquiñ Oñibz Balliuis
t fidelibz suis ad quos přfentes lrē pueñint factm. Monstrauit nob diřca
t fidelis nřa Margareta fil t heres Robti de Roos de Werkř sup
Twedam qđ licet přfatus Robtus de Roos adhesit Scotis inimicis t
rebellibz dñi E' quondā Regis angl přis nři t cum eisdem t aliis
Scotis inimicis dci přis nři equitauit cū vexillis explicatis ardendo
cum eisdem villam de Werkř in coñ Northumbř t alia incendia t
dampna qmplurima in regno nřo Angl cum dciis inimicis tempore
pđci přis nři cont^r fidem suā ppetrand t qđ postmodū idem Robtus
de Roos adherens fuit Scotis inimicis dci přis nři t Wilfo Waleys
tunc pditori eiusdē přis nři et qđ fuit in comitua ipius Willi t alioz
Scotoz inimicoz pđci přis nři in pdicōe sua tempore dci přis nři t
cont^r fidem suā Nos volentes t consideracoēm hentes supplicācoi
dce Margarete qđ cum in⁹ cetās condōes quas celebris memorie
Dñs E' quondam Rex Angl pat⁹ nř dudū in ptibz Scocie de assensu
Comitū Baronū t alioz fideliū tunc ibidē existenciū concessit Joñi
Comyn de Badenagh p se t hoibz de Sēdc qui cont^r dcñ přem nřm

ibidem de guerra fuerunt quod salua essent eis vita et membra et quod quieti essent de imprisonamento et quod non exheredarentur quodque heredes tunc infra etatem existentes eidem condicibus gauderent quo ad saluacionem vite et membroꝝ et quo ad adquietacionem imprisonamenti et exheredacionis put in eidem condicibus pleniꝝ continetur. Ac prefata Margareta sepius ad nos accedens asserensque ipsam tempore concessionis condicionuꝝ predictarum infra etatem extitisse et eidem condicibus gaudere debere. Nos pietate moti et de gratia nostra speciali pro nobis et heredibus nostris ratione minoris etatis dicte Margarete pdonauimus eidem Margarete et heredibus suis forisfuram pro predicto Roberto de Roos preem suum tam tempore presens nostri quam tempore nostro quouismodo fecimus. Nolentes insuper quod prefata Margareta seu heredes sui de aliquibus terris tenentibus et possessionibus que prefate Margarete jure hereditario post mortem predicti Roberti de Roos presens sui descendebant occasione predictioꝝ seu sedecionuꝝ aut feloniarum sic pretenсарum seu alius forisfure cuiuscumque pro predicto Roberto de Roos tam tempore dicte presens nostri quam tempore nostro pro nos vel heredes nostros seu Ministros nostros aut heredum nostrorum quorumcumque exheredentur occiderent molestentur in aliquo seu grauentur.

In cuius rei testimoniū has lras nras fieri fecimus patentes.

T' me ipso apud Clipston sexto die Noui anno regni nostri sexto. Nos autem lras predictas ad requisicionem dilecti et fidelis nostri Gerardi Salueyn consanguinei et heredis predictae Margarete tenore presenciuꝝ duximus exemplificandis.

In cuius tenore T' R' apud Westm xxvj. die Junii.

XV.

LETTER FROM ANDREW DE MORAVIA AND WILLIAM
WALLACE TO THE MAYORS AND COMMONS OF
LUBEK AND HAMBURGH.

DATED OCTOBER 11, 1297.^c

ANDREAS de Moravia et Willelmus Wallenfis, duces exercitus regni Scotie et Communitas eiusdem regni, providis viris et discretis ac amicis dilectis, majoribus et communibus de Lubek et de Hamburg, salutem et sinceræ dilectionis semper incrementum.

Nobis per fide dignos mercatores dicti regni Scotiæ est intimatum, quod vos vestri gratia, in omnibus causis et negociis, nos et ipsos mercatores tangentibus, consulentes, auxiliantes et favorabiles estis, licet nostra non præcefferint merita, et ideo magis vobis tenemur ad grates cum digna remuneratione, ad quæ vobis volumus obligari; rogantes vos, quatinus præconizari facere velitis inter mercatores vestros, quod securum accessum ad omnes portus regni Scotiæ possint habere cum mercandiis suis, quia regnum Scotiæ, Deo regraciato, ab Anglorum potestate bello est recuperatum.^d VALETE.

Datum apud Badfingtonam^e in Scotia, undecifimo die Octobris, anno Graciæ, millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo septimo.

Rogamus vos insuper ut negocia Johannis Burnet, et Johannis Frere, mercatorum nostrorum, promovendi dignemini, prout nos negocia mercatorum vestrorum promovere velitis. VALETE. Datum ut prius.

^c This interesting document, discovered by Dr Lappenburg amongst the Archives of Hamburg, is here reprinted from the *Life of Wallace* (ii. 192) by John D. Carrick, Esq.

^d The decisive victory of Stirling bridge had been gained a month before this letter was written.

^e Haddingtonam (?)

XVI.

CHARTER OF WILLIAM WALLACE TO ALEXANDER
SKIRMISCHUR.

DATED MARCH 29, 1298.^f

WILLELMUS WALAYS, miles, Custos regni Scociæ, et Ductor exercituum ejusdem, nomine præclari principis domini Johannis, Dei gratia regis Scociæ illustris, de consensu Communitatis ejusdem regni, omnibus probis hominibus dicti regni, ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, æternam in Domino salutem.

Noverit universitas vestra, nos, nomine prædicti domini nostri regis Scociæ, per consensum et assensum Magnatum dicti regni, dedisse et concessisse, ac ipsas donationem et concessionem præsentis carta confirmasse, Alexandro dicto Skirmischur sex marcatas terræ in territorio de Dundee, scilicet, terram illam quæ vocatur Campus Superior, prope villam de Dundee ex parte boreali, cum acris illis in campo occidentali, quæ ad partem regiam spectare solebant, prope villam de Dundee ex parte occidentali, et etiam pratum regium in prædicto territorio de Dundee, et etiam Constabulariam Castri de Dundee, cum suis pertinenciis, libertatibus et asyamentis sine aliquo retinemento, pro homagio prædicto domino Regi et heredibus suis, vel suis successoribus, faciundo, et pro fidei servicio et succursu suo prædicto regno impenso, portando vexillum regium in exer-

^f From a fac-simile of the original, which is engraved in Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*.

citu Scociæ tempore confectionis præsentium. Tenenda et habenda prædicto Alexandro et heredibus suis de prædicto domino nostro Rege et heredibus suis, vel suis successoribus, libere, quiete, integre, pacifice et honorifice, in perpetuum, cum omnibus pertinenciis, libertatibus et asyamentis ad dictam terram et pratum prænominatum, et præfatam Constabulariam, spectantibus, vel quoquo modo spectare valentibus in futurum, faciendo inde annuatim domino Regi et heredibus suis, vel suis successoribus, scilicet, pro prædictis terra, prato et Constabularia cum suis pertinenciis, libertatibus, et asyamentis, servitium quod pertinet ad dictam Constabulariam tantum pro omnibus quæ de prædictis exigi poterunt in futurum.

In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum commune prædicti regni Scociæ præfenti scripto est appositum.

Datum apud Torpheidyn, vigesimo nono die Marcii, anno Graciæ millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo octavo.

XVII.

LETTER FROM PHILIP KING OF FRANCE TO HIS
AGENTS AT THE COURT OF ROME.*

Ph dei g^{ra} fran^c Rex dili^cs t^u fidelibz. . Gentibz n^{ost}ris ad Romaⁿ Cur^{iam}
destinatis Sit t^u di^u. Mandam^{us} uob^{is} qu^{od} . . S^ummum Pontificem requiratis
ut dilectum n^{ost}rum Guill^{elm} le Walois de Scotia Militem rec^{om}mendatum
h^{ab}eat in hijs q^u ap^{ud} eum hab^uit expedire. Da^{te} ap^{ud} Petrafontem die luⁿ
post festum o^mni^{um} Sancto^{rum}.

Endorsed,
Quarta Ira R^{egis} f^{ran}c^{ie}.

* Copied from the original letter in the Tower.

XVIII.

LIST OF THE ENGLISH NOBILITY AT THE SIEGE OF
THE CASTLE OF STIRLING.^a

A Est'vet.
 Le Conte de Garenne.
 Le Conte de Nicole.
 Le Conte de Gloucestr.
 Le Conte de Lancastr.
 Le Conte de Warwick.
 Le Conte de Uluestier.
 Mon^s Johan de Bretayne.
 Mon^s Eymar de Valence.
 Mon^s Henri de Pcy.
 Mon^s Hugh le Despens.
 Mon^s Guille^m de Breoufe.
 Mon^s Guille^m Martyn.
 Mon^s Johan de Seg^{ve}.
 Mon^s Pie^r de Maulay.

A ces. xiiij^{es} comanda n^{re} Seign^r. le Roi le jor de Seint Jak'. l an de son regne xxxii. cest assa^v lendemain q^l le Chastel d'Est'velyn fu rendu^z, qu il ordenassent com^{ent} t^l en quel man^{ere} il puist faire chose, de quei eux t^l les autres qui nouns font s^utenuz en ces deux roules se puissent tenir appaiez p^r le s^uvise qu il li unt faitz. Et eux sur ce assenblèrent en plant de ces choses par trois foiz. Mes p^r ce q^l le Conte de Garenne estoit a cele hore en Engle^{tre}, et Mon^s Johⁿ de Seg^{ve} fust deshaitez. Et enseme^t p^r ce qu il covenoit q^l plusurs de eux sen alassent en lor pays com^e ceux qui plus longement demorer ne peurent. elx regardantz qu il ne pooient si g^{ra}nt chose deliv^{er} adroitement si a haste^r. p^{er}erent n^{re} Seign^r. le Roi q^l ceste ordenance peust p^{re}ndre delai, jusq^s a son p^{re}ci^en Pallement d'Engle^{tre}. En tieu man^{ere} q^l si aucuns de ceux qui sont nomez es ditz roules, le requieissent endementiers de garde de mariage, de baillie, de franchise, ou d autre chose, en lieu de bienfait t^l il lor g^{ra}ntast : q^l deslors il feust q^utes envers eux ; q^unt au fait de ceste ordenance. Et por les autres. fust ordenez finalment au Pallement avantdit. Et ensi le granta n^{re} Seigneur le Roi a lor req^uste.

^a Printed from the contemporary document, (32 Edw. I.) in Sir F. Palgrave's Documents and Records Illustrative of the History of Scotland, 8vo, London, 1837, vol. i. p. 274.

Itm̄ fait a remembrer, q̄ a cele hore fust ordenez par nre Seigneur le Roi t̄ par ceux qui lors estoient ove li, q̄ Mon̄s Johan de Segrave demorast Justice t̄ Cheventaine decza la Mier d Escoce, jusq̄ tant q̄ nre Seigneur le Roi en ait autre chose ordenee q̄nt il li plera. En meisme la man̄e fust ordenez q̄ le Conte de Athoile demorast Justice t̄ Cheventaine dela la Mier d Escoce : jusq̄ tant &c̄.

∞ Itm̄ q̄ Mon̄s Johan Comyn, Mon̄s Alēx de Lyndefeye, Mon̄s David de Graham t̄ Mon̄s Simon Frās qui deivent tenir exil, felonc l ordenee qu en est faite, ensemblement les autres gentz d Escoce q̄ font a la foi nre Seignr le Roi, mettent peine entre cy t̄ le xx^{me}. jour de Noel, de prendre Mon̄s Williame le Waleys t̄ de l rendre a nre Seignr le Roi, si qu il puisse ver cōment chescun sy portera. p̄ quei il puisse av̄ meilleur regard env̄ celi qui l av̄a p̄s, cest affav̄ endroit d exil ou derafizon ou d amende de trespas, ou d autre chose en quey il s̄ra tenuz a nre Seignr le Roi.

∞ Itm̄ q̄ l Evesque de Glasgu soit par bon tesmoignage dela Trente le jour de la Nativitie nre Dame au plus tard, p̄ demorer dela Trente en Engleterre. jusq̄ tant q̄ nre Seignr le Roi en eit sa volunte plus avant ordenee.

Itm̄ q̄ le Seneschal d Escoce, Mon̄s Johan de Soules, ne Mon̄s Ingelram de Umfranviht si eent conduit, ne point ne viegnēt dedenz le poer nre Seigneur le Roi. tant q̄ Mon̄s Gulliam le Waleys li soit renduz.

XIX.

MEMORANDA AS TO THE CUSTODY OF THE CASTLES, AND RESPECTING THE PARDON OF THE BISHOP OF GLASGOW AND SIR WILLIAM WALLACE.¹

1. **ENDROIT** des fermetez, qui doivent demorer en la mein le Roy, jeufqs au plement. le Roy entent q̄ meifmes les fermetez foiēt garde3 as couftages de ceux, a qui les fermetez font.

2. **Itm̄** endroit de l' Evefq, de Glasgu. le Roi entent, qu'il foit de la ⁹dicion du com̄un, ficome est ordene, t̄ outre, qu'il teigne veil p̄ deux anz ou par trois, hors de la terre d' Eſcoce, por les g^rntz maus, qu'il ha p^rchacez.

3. **Itm̄** endroit de William le Waleys. le Roi entent, qu'il foit receu a fa volūte t̄ a fon ordeinement.

¹ From the work last quoted, p. 283.

XX.

MEMORANDA RESPECTING MEASURES ON THE AP-
PREHENSION OF SIR WILLIAM WALLACE.¹

1. L Euesq̄ de Cestf̄ l Euesq̄ de Seint l Euesq̄
de Wyrecestf̄ le Conte de Mōf̄s Ad̄ Gurdoñ.
2. La l̄re a Mōf̄s Mī de Stapeltoñ Wīt de rgh
. Renaud &c. t̄ q̄ il remandēt les fōmes.
3. It̄ de la l̄re Marie fit̄ R.
4. Fait a remembrer des .xl. m̄rs q̄ deyvent estre dones a un Vallet
q̄ espia Wīt le Waleys.
5. It̄ de les .lx. m̄rs q̄ deyvent estre donez as autres, t̄ le Roi voet q̄
ceslx. qui feurent a la p̄se du dit Willā p̄
ptir entre eus.
6. D̄ la t̄re. cest affaṽ c̄ li p̄ J. de Meneteth̄.
7. D̄ s̄mēt de ceaux q̄ s̄ront au 9fail d̄ Escoce &c.
8. It̄ de la creance des l̄res &c.
9. It̄ des escritz d̄ Escoce &c. t̄ des reĩb̄nces.

¹ On a small pannel, written in a very loose manner. The first paragraph is written transversely, the others horizontally. The document appears to be a series of memoranda of business to be brought before the notice of the Parliament or Privy Council. It is here printed from the work last quoted, p. 295.

XXI.

ARTICLES PROPOUNDED BEFORE THE POPE AGAINST WILLIAM LAMBERTON, BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, SETTING FORTH HIS ACTS OF PERJURY AND RE- BELLION.¹

∞ Artīcli pponendi cont^r Ep̄m Scī And^r sup cōfilio affensu ⁊ ad-
herencia ꝑstītis ꝑ ip̄m Roberto de Bruis, in ꝑncipio rebel-
liōis sue cont^r Regē Angl̄.

∞ Treffeint Pere, n^re Seigneur le Roy d Engleterre fait assavoir a v^re
Seintete, q̄ Mestre Willieme de Lambretoñ, jadys Chauncellier del Eg-
lise de Glasgu q̄ ore est Evesq̄ de Seint Andreu en Escoce de son bon
gre ⁊ de sa fraunche volunte, ly fist foiante, comē a son Seigneur lige, ⁊
droiturel Roi d Escoce, au Parlement de Berewyk' sur Twede, le vint e
utifme jour d Augst l an de g^rce m.cc. nonante ⁊ fisme ⁊ du regne n^re
Seigneur le Roi vintifme quart, sicome il es contenu en ses lettres seallez
de son feal, ⁊ en instrument publiq̄ sur ce faitz. et de loiaument tenir
[⁊ garder] totes les choses contenues es dites lettres, le dit Mestre Wil-
liam de Lambertoñ adonk Chancellor de l eglise de Glasgu, jura ⁊ fist
serment sur le corps Jhu Crist ⁊ sur seintes Evangeles, sur la Croiz
Neyth ⁊ sur la Blakerode d Escoce, sicōme piert par l^res ⁊ instrumentz
sufditz.

∞ Puis ap̄s q̄ l Evesq̄ de Seint Andreu q̄ adonk feu, estoit mort, et les
gentz de la t^re d Escoce par consail ⁊ abbet des Prelatz e des Clerks
[de] meisme la t^re, furent levez de guerre ovesq̄ William le Waleys

¹ From the work last quoted, p. 331.

adonk' furent contre nre Seigneur le Roi leur lige Seigneur, en qui homage t foiaute eaux estoient, sicome piert par leur lettres t instrumentz publiks fur ce faitz. la ou le chapitre de Seint Andreu avoit eslu Mestre William Comyn qe totes foitz se tint a la foi nre Seigneur le Roi, t de sa amyfte. William le Waleys t ses aherdantz, e enemys nre Seigneur le Roi, as queux le dit Mestre William de Lambertoñ se avoit done t fu aherdant contre son serment t sa ligeance, par force t par destresce le firent eslire en Evesq de Seint Andreu sanz congie demandier t sanz assent de nre Seigneur le Roi, sicome il afferroit affaire de droit t solonk l usage du Royaume, en pjudice de ly t de droit de sa corone, t par tiele eleccion, il, fait Evesq, entra t occupa la temporaute de la dite Evesche, t enfi occupa la detint, par quoi multz des mals sunt puis venuz.

« Apres ce Sire, le dit Mestre William enfi fet Evesqe come est defusdit, demora a la court le Roi de France ovesqe plusors autres g^rntz Seigneurs d Escoce de l enemyste nre Seigneur le Roi pcurant de jour en autre toutz les maux qu il savoit t poeyt, contre nre dit Seigneur [le Roi] mauveisement venaunt contre sa foiaute t son sment qu il avoit faitz au dit Roi tant come il fu Chancellor de Glasgu, sicome est defusdit, jefqe tant qe la pees finale se prist par entre nre Seigneur le Roi d Engleterre t le Roi de France.

« Encore Sire, q^{nt} le dit Evesqe de Seint Andreu vist q la dite pees finale fu fait t accordee entre les deus Rois [de France t d Engl.] il manda par lettres ovtes sealles de son seal as Prelatz, Contes, Barons, t toutz autres de la comunaute d Escoce qe adonk furent enemys le Roi par fait de guerre, t les abbeta, conseilla, excita, t requist, qu il meissent peine t diligence, t saforceassent vigorousement de guerroyer nre Seignor le Roi d Engleterre son Seignor lige t droiturel, si avant come il porreient, issint qu il pussent la guerre continuer t maintenir, jusq tant qu il ove les autres g^rntz Seigneurs d Escoce qui furent en France ove ly, peussent a eaux venir t qe ce ferroit en brief temps, e ce fist il mauveisement venant contre son serment de foiaute faite au Roi d Engleterre avantdit, t ceste chose est conue t notoire.

« Encore Sire, meisme l Evesqe de Seint Andreu mande par ses autres lres q trovees furent seallez de son seal a William Waleys enemy nre

Seignor le Roi, ⁊ abbetaz, conseilla, ⁊ pria par amour de ly † ⁊ fur fa beneizon † qu il feust ad tut son poer aidant ⁊ conseillant, sicōme il avoit avant fait a la cōmunante de la dite terre d Escosse contre le Roi d Engleterre soen Seigneur lige ⁊ droiturel, en qui foiaute il fust, sicōme est avantdit, de le guerrier ⁊ damagier ⁊ les soiens si avant cōme il fauroit ⁊ porroit, ⁊ ly manda qu il avoit escrit a ses ministres en Escoce qu il ly livassent partie de sa purveance faite por ly en Escoce por soustenance du dit William le Waleys, d ceo fist le dit Evesqe mauveisement venant contre son serment de foiaute fait au dit nre Seignor le Roi la quele chose est notorie en Engleterre ⁊ en Escoce.

.....

 * Estre ceo tresseint Pere, come en temps de la voidance de la dite Evesche de Saint Andreu, Maistre William Comyn frere au Conte de Boghan, qi bien ⁊ loiaument fest tenuz a la foi nre Seign^r le Roi feust esluz p le chapitre de la dite eglise ⁊ William le Waleys q̄ adonq̄ fu cheventeine ⁊ guior des gentz d Escoce, qui furent rebels, ⁊ de l enemiste nre Seign^r le Roi par force ⁊ contre sa volente, feist Maistre William de Lambreton adonq̄ Chanceler de Glasgu estre esluz en Evesq̄ de la dite eglise [de Saint And^r] qi adonq̄ fu aufint contre nre Seign^r le Roi ovesq̄ le dit William ⁊ ses autres fautours [sicome est avantdit] ; ⁊ meisme celi Maistre William ensi fait Evesq̄ se soit puis trop maveisement portez en moltz de maneres en^vs nre Seign^r le Roi, sicome defus est dit. par queux acheifons il semble a nre Seign^r le Roi q il ne se porra mes assurer de li, ne q il puisse bone pees avoir en sa terre d Escoce, tant come le dit Evesq̄ y dem^cra en tel estat ; si prie il a v^re Seintete devoutement q il vous pleise le dit Evesq̄ offer de sa terre d Escoce, pur la seurte de li ⁊ de ses bufoignes ⁊ pur pees ⁊ quiete du pueple, en ordenant de son estat p ailleurs selonc ceo q il plerra a v^re Seintete, ⁊ q il vous pleise en lieu de li faire Evesq̄ le dit Maistre William Comyn, qi bien ⁊ loialment s est tenuz a la foi nre Seign^r le Roi, p quoi il entent q il s^ra pfitable por l estat de le Eglise ⁊ p^r la pees de la terre aufint.^m

^m Upon a roll of parchment, composed of membranes, fastened end to end, and very fairly written, and upon which the first paragraph is endorsed in a coeval hand.

XXII.

ARTICLES TO BE PROPOUNDED BEFORE POPE CLEMENT V. AGAINST ROBERT WISHART, BISHOP OF GLASGOW, SETTING FORTH HIS VARIOUS ACTS OF PERJURY AND REBELLION.^a

ARTICULI pponendi cont^r Ep̄m Glasguen̄s sup cōsilio assensu ⁊ adherencia p ip̄m f̄cis Rob̄to de Brus in p̄ncipio rebelliōis cont^r Regē Angl.

.....
Apr̄s ce, q̄nt le dit n̄re Seign^r le Roy d Engle^tre a son dit plement de Berewik' avoit establi tota sa dite t̄re de Escoce de pees, ⁊ fu a la mer d Engle^tre en alant v̄s Flaundres, le dit Evesq̄ de Glasgu abbetta Rob̄t de Brus Counte de Carrik' ⁊ William le Waleys ⁊ tant fist q̄ eux ensemblement ovesq̄s autres d Escoce se leverent contre la foy ⁊ la pees le Roy, ⁊ meurent guerre contre le Roy, et le dit Evesq̄ meisme come hom contre la pees vint armez son corps od tote sa gent ⁊ tot son poair en champ contre le poair le Roy, en [eide] des ditz Counte ⁊ William, por faire le pys qu il poient, meis puis tant pria ⁊ fist le dit Evesq̄ dev̄s Mon̄s Henri de P̄cy ⁊ Mon̄s Rob̄t de Clifford adonq̄s cheventeins dep le Roy, qu il se rendy a eux a la pees le Roy ⁊ reconusseit p bouche ⁊ p ses l̄res ov̄tes fealees de son feal qu il malement s estoit levez ovesq̄ les autres gentz d Escoce contre son Seign^r lige le Roy d Engle^tre, ⁊ de ce ⁊ de

^a From the work last quoted, p. 340.

touz maus qu'il avoit fait au Roy, se mist haut et bas a sa volente sicome piert p ses dites lres et p instrument publiẽ sur ce faitz. Et ce fist il a Erwyn en Escoce le ix. jour de Jul l an du regne nre dit Seignr le Roy xxv. Et ia tardois deinz un mois aps. le dit Evescq, abbetta autre foiz les ditz Counte et William et tant fist qu'il levont contre le Roy tant qu'il vist le poair le Roy crestre. et adonqs se mist il aussi come hostage por lui et por les foens en le chastel de Rokesburg, mais puis p ses lres et p ses autres faitz bien feust trove qu'il le fist p covture de trahir la garnison du dit chastel, les queux choses sont notoires, et hom en porra faire foy suffisauntment p le Roy, et ce appareust qnt le host de Escosse affegi le dit chastel tantq, le poair le Roy d Engleterre enhosta p poair le dit fege.

Aps ce, qnt nre dit Seignr le Roy s en fu retournez de Flaundes et avoit entendu q le dit Evescq, estoit iffint hostagez en le dit chastel, il de sa grce especiale et curtoisie fist delivrer le dit Evescq, de cele hostaigerie d aler queu pt q beau lui feust. Et le dit Evescq, de sa fraunche volunte vint a Holmcotram en Engleterre au dit Roy et lui pria grce et mcy de touz trespas et maux qu'il lui avoit faitz. et le Roy le receust bonement a sa grce. et la fist le dit Evescq, la quarte foiz sment de feaute au Roy sur le cors nre Seignr, sur Seintes Evangieles, sur la Croiz Neyth, et sur la Blakerode de Escoce. et sur ce fist ses lres ovtes sealees de son seal devant l Evescq, de Cardoist l Abbe de Holmcoltm et plusours autres gntz Seignrs d Engleterre, sicome piert p instrument publiẽ sur ce fait et p ses dites lres ovtes sealees de son seal.

Uncore, qnt le dit nre Seignr le Roy od eteines gentz d armes ala d une pt de la tre d Escoce et enveia son fuiz le Pnce de Gales devs Gaweie ovescq, autre copaignie, por refrendre la malice desditz Counte et William et des autres qui estoient contre la pees, le dit Evescq, aps si chargeauntz smentz, come devant est dit, p ses lres sealees de son seal manda a William Lydel son Baillif qu'il feist assembler tot le poair le dit Evescq, et q eux alassent en la compaignie Johan de Glen as ditz Counte et William por combatre contre le dit fuiz le Roy et son poair, et ce piert bien p les dites

l'ſes & instrument [publick] ſur ce faitz. Et puis q^{nt} le dit n^{re} Seign^r le Roy avoit deſconfit ſes rebels d'Efcoce & foit crier & tenir pees ptut, le dit Eveſq^z de Glaſgu vint au Roy a Cambuskyneth & pria la g^{ce} & mercy le Roy de touz ſes trespas, & illoq^s la quinte foiz fiſt ſ^{ment} de foiaute au Roy come devant, ſur le corps n^{re} Seign^r, ſur Seintes Evangeiles, ſur la Croiz Neyth & ſur la Blakerode, et le Roy de ſa g^{ce} eſpeciale le receuſt bonement, & lui rendy la temporaute de ſa Eveſchee, come cele quele il avoit forfait. Il adonq^s reconuſoit foy avoir receu la dite temporante de la g^{ce} le Roy come de ſon lige Seign^r & dreiturel Roy d'Efcoce, & de la tenir de lui & de nul autre, ficome piert p l'ſes le dit Eveſq^z ovtes fealees de ſon feal, et p instrument publick ſur ce faitz le v. jour de Marz l'an de g^{ce} m^lccc. tierz.

XXIII.

EXTRACT FROM THE WARDROBE ACCOUNT,
32 EDWARD I.°

DONA.

* * * * *

Vallett^o Comitis } Nicho Oysel Valletto Comitis Ultoñ por-
Ultoñ } tanti ad Rf nova de difconfitura fca p
dnos Willm le Latym Joñem de Segrave t
Robtm de Clifford sup dnos Simonē Frafer
t Willm le Walleys apud Hopperewe de
dono ipius Rf ad unum equum sibi emendū
ad festinan^t redeundū cum iris Rf dnīs Jo-
hanni de Segrave t Johanni de Kingestoñ
directis p m^o pprias apud Abdoure eodem
die [xij^o die Marcii] xl. s.
* * * * * p H. capellm.

* * * * *

Mufkelburgh } Johanni de Moskelburgh ducenti dnos
Joñem de Seg^rve Robtm de Clifford t
alios magnates in comitiva eozdem ad quan-

* From the original among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, No. 8835, fol. 42.

dam equitaturam sup Simonē Fraſ⁹ Willm
le Waleys t̄ alios Scotos inimicos Rf̄ in
ptibz de Laudian tunc exiſtentes aſſignat de
dono regis p̄ manus pprias apud Sc̄m
Andř xv die Marcii x. ſ.

RESTAUR equoz appciatoz in guerra Scocie pditoz anno p̄ſenti xxxij^o.

* * * * *

Umframvilt } Thome de Umframvilt p̄ reſtauro uni⁹
equi nigri liardi appciati p̄ Wilto de Eche-
wyk ſoc̄ ſuo t̄ mortui apud fugam ſc̄am
ſup Willm le Waleys ſbtus Yrenſide menſe
Septembř anno p̄ſ .lx. ſ. unius equi fer-
randi appciati p̄ Rog^o de Wetwode ſoc̄ ſuo
t̄ pditi ad eandam fugam ibidem eodem
menſe x. mař et uni⁹ ſomeri ſui badii red-
diti ad elemoſinam ap̄d Dunfermeř xxix^o
die Decembř .xl. ſ. p̄ comp̄ ſc̄m cū eodem
ap̄d Weſtū x^o die Aprilis anno xxxiiij^o
ſm^c xj. li. xiiij. ſ. iiij. đ.

NUNCII.

* * * * *

Walto Hakelutel p̄ deñ p̄ ip̄m ſoluť p̄ exp̄n
quozdā garcionū Scoč miſſoz p̄ vices per
p̄cept̄ Rf̄ uſq; Caſtrū de Strivelyn t̄ alibi
inſidiandū dñis Simoni Fraſ⁹ t̄ Wilto le
Waleys t̄ aliis inimicis R p̄ m⁹ pp̄as apud
Villam Sc̄i Andř xv^o die Marč xx. ſ. viij. đ

XXIV.

EXTRACT FROM THE PATENT ROLL

33 Edw. I., p. 2, m. 14 dorso.^p

Rē ditis et fidei suis Rogo le Brabazon Willo de Bereford Rogo de
 Hegh^m et Petro Malore vel tribus eorum factum. Cum nup̄ injunx^{im} vob̄
 prefate Rogo le Brabazon quedam ardua negocia in civitate nra London̄
 et com̄ Kant Suffe^x Surf et Midd^t pagenda et q̄d om̄es affifas juratus et
 etificacōes coram quibuscūq; justic^{is} nris in com̄ p̄dcis arramiatas vel arra-
 miandas capetis et gaolas nras in eisdem com̄ libaretis et postmod̄ associ-
 vim⁹ vob̄ vos prefati Willo Rogo de Hegh^m et Petre ad p̄missa om̄ia pfi-
 dienda. Nolentes negocia p̄dca vel eorum aliqua p̄ absenciam alic⁹ vrum
 retardari aliquali⁹ seu differri vob̄ mandam⁹ q̄d si vos om̄es ad dies et
 loca quos ad p̄missa facienda p̄videretis vel imposterū p̄videretis p̄sonali⁹
 interesse vel ad hec intendere nō possitis. tūc tres vrum nō expectata p̄sen-
 cia q̄rti vrum absentis. ad ea om̄ia et singula facienda p̄cedatis f̄turi tē sal-
 vis tē et aliis ad nos inde sp̄ctantibz. Mand̄ em̄ vic̄ nris civitatis p̄dce
 et com̄ p̄dcōz q̄d vob̄ om̄ibz et tribz vrum quos interesse contig^{it} in p̄missis
 peant et intendant put eis injungetis ex pte nra. In cui⁹ tē T^r Rē apud
 Raureth, xvij die Augusti p̄ bre de p̄vato sigillo.

^p We now come to the documents connected with the trial and execution of Wallace, a fuller notice of
 which will be found in the Preface.

XXV.

PRIVY SEALS,

33 EDW. I.

EDWARD par la g^{ce} de Dieu roy Dengleterre feign^r Dirland^t t ducs Daquitaigne a n^{re} ch^{clerk} William de Hamelton n^{re} chaunceler salut3. Come no⁹ eons affetie no3 feaux t leaux William de Beresford Rogier de Hegg^m t Pierres Malorre no3 Justices a n^{re} feal t leal Rogier Brabazon qui represente n^{re} p^{son}e a faire aukunes grosses besoignes dount no⁹ les avons charge en les contez de Kent^t Sur^t Suffe^x Middlese^x t Loundres t as assises t atteintes prendre t a deliver toutes no3 jaoles de meismes lez contez. Nous voillantz q^{si} touz quatre ni puissent entendre q^{si} treis de eux qui p^{sent}z s^{er}ount noun pas attendantz la p^{sen}ce du quart i attendent t voisant avant a faire t fournir les choses avant dites. vous mandoms q^{si} vous de ce les facez aver no3 tres sountz n^{re} g^{unt} feal en due fourme. Doñ sountz n^{re} prive feal a Raureth le xvij. jour Daugst^t. lan de n^{re} regne trentisme tier3.

XXVI.

PATENT ROLL,

33 Edw. I., p. 2, m. 14, d.

Rē dilectis et fidis suis Johi de Segrove Petro Mallore Rafo de Sandwico
Johi de Bacquell et Johi le Blund majori civitatis sue Londonie factis.

Sciatis quod constituimus vos justitios nros ad personam nostram civitatis nostre predictae
de Willo le Waleys delibandum juxta ordinacionem vobis per nos inde injunc-
tam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad certos diem et locum quos vos omnes quatuor
vel tres vestrum ad hoc prouideritis. personam predictam de predicto Willo deli-
betis in forma predicta. Et vos prefate Johannes de Segrove in cuius custodia
prefatus Willms existit de mandato nostro specialiter ad predictos diem et locum prefatum
Willelmum et ejus attachiam coram vobis ibidem venire facite. In cuius tenore Tenor Rē
apud Raureth xvij. die Augusti

per breue de privato sigillo.

XXVII.

PRIVY SEALS,

33 EDW. I.

EDWARD par la g^{ce} de Dieu roy Dengleterre seign^r Dirland et ducs Daquitaigne. a n^{re} cher clerk William de Hamelton n^{re} chauncellor saluz. Sachez qⁱ nous avons assigne noz feaux t^z leaux Johan de Seg^{ve} Pierres Malorre Rauff de Sandwyz Johan de Bauquell t^z Johan le Blound n^{re} meyr de Loundres ou quatre ou treis de eux qui p^{sentz} s^rount noz justices a deliv^{er} n^{re} jaole de la Tour de Loundres de William le Waleys selonc la ley t^z lufage de n^{re} realme. E pur ce vous mandoms qas avantditz Johan Pierres Rauff Johan t^z Johan de ce facez aver noz lettres foutz n^{re} g^{unt} feal en due fourme. Doñ foutz n^{re} prive seal a Raureth. le .xviij. jour Daugst^e lan de n^{re} regne xxxij.

XXVIII.

ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT,

5444, fol. 138, C.¹

EODEM anno xj.² Kalendas Septembris, dominus Willelmus Waleis, miles, ex natione Scotica natus, venit Londoñ, cui multitudo hominum ac mulierum sibi obviavit, et hospitabatur in domibus Willelmi de Leyre, civis Londoñ, in parochia Omnium Sanctorum ad Fœnum.³ In crastino vero, qui dicitur dies Lunæ, in vigilia Sancti Bartholomæi, [Aug. 23] ductus fuit equitando apud Westmonasterium; Johannes de Segrave et Galfridus de Segrave, milites, Major, vicecomites et Aldermanni Londoñ eum sequentes ac ducentes, cum pluribus aliis eundo et equitando, et in Aula Magna Westmonasterii super scamnum australe positus, ac cum foliis lauri coronatus, pro eo quod ipse afferuit tempore præterito coronam in eadem aula portare deberet, sic⁴ vulgariter dicebatur. Statim ipso vo-

¹ This exceedingly interesting narrative, embodying the legal proceedings (if they may be so styled) against Wallace, is taken from a manuscript, itself of modern date, but a transcript from one of the Cottonian MSS., which has subsequently been destroyed by the fire of 1731. That MS. was of considerable antiquity, and had belonged to some institution connected with the city of London, the successive officers of which had from time to time entered an account of those events which most attracted their attention. Hence we are here supplied with a contemporaneous account of the last, and perhaps the most interesting, period of the life of Wallace, his arrival in London, his treatment, the accusations brought against him, the grounds on which he met them, and the sentence which was pronounced by the agents of the English Justinian. That the compiler, whoever he was, had access to the best and most authentic information, is obvious, for a general inspection of his whole work, and, in this instance, by the introduction of the legal proceedings of the court by whom Wallace was condemned. Another copy, less perfect and correct than that above referred to, is contained in the Hargrave MS., 179, p. 292.

² Nono, MS. Harg.

³ Fenchurch Street.

⁴ Perhaps sic, that is, sicut.

cato ad iudicium, et per dominum Petrum Maluree, iudiciarium domini regis Angliæ, pro traditore ejusdem regis aggressus, qui respondit se nunquam traditorem regis Angliæ fuisse, sed alia crimina sibi imposita concessit. Tandem dictus Petrus cum aliis iudiciariis decrevit iudicium ferie qua sequitur.

Edwardus, Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, et dux Aquitaniæ, dilectis et fidelibus suis Johanni de Segrave, Petro Maluree, Radulfo de Sandwyco, Johanni de Bacuelle, et Johanni le Blound, majori civitatis suæ Londoni, salutem.

Sciatis quod constituimus vos Iudiciarios nostros ad prisonam nostram civitatis nostræ Londoni de Willelmo le Waleis deliberandum, juxta ordinationem vobis per nos inde injunctam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad certas diem^a et locum, quos vos omnes, quatuor vel tres vestrum ad hoc provideritis, prisonam prædictam de prædicto Willelmo deliberetis in forma prædicta. Et vos præfatus Joñs de Segrave, in cujus custodia præfatus Willelmus existit, de mandato nostro speciali ad prædictos diem et locum præfatum Willelmum et ejus attachiamentum coram vobis ibidem venire faciatis. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

Teste meipso apud Raurethe, xvij. die Augusti, anno regni nostri xxxiiij.

Per breve de sigillo privato.

Prætextu cujus brevis præfati Iudiciarii ad deliberationem prædictæ prisonæ de præfato Willelmo procefferunt in hunc modum.

PLACITA apud Westmonasterium coram Johanne de Segrave, P. Maluree, R. de Sandwyco, Johanne de Bacwelle et J. le Blound Majore civitatis regis Londoni, die lunæ in vigilia Sancti Bartholomæi, anno regni regis Edwardi, filii Henrici, xxxiiij.

WILLELMUS WALEIS Scotus et de Scotia ortus, captus pro seditione, ho-

^a Dies, MS.

micidiis, deprædacionibus, incendiis, et aliis diversis feloniis, venit, et recitato per eosdem justiciarios qualiter, postquam prædictus dominus rex terram Scotiæ super Johannem Baillol, prælatos, comites, barones et alios ejusdem terræ inimicos suos, per foriffacturam ipsius Johannis, hostiliter conquifiviffet, et conquæstu illius omnes Scotos dominio et regiæ potestati suæ, ut eorum regi, submisiffet et subjugaffet, homagia et fidelitates prælatorum, comitum, baronum, et aliorum plurimorum publice recepiffet, pacemque suam per totam terram Scotiæ proclamari feciffet, Custodes terræ illius, locum suum tenentes, vicecomites, præpositos, ballivos et alios ministros suos ad pacem suam manutenendam et justitiam quibuscunque secundum leges et consuetudines terræ illius faciendam, ordinaffet et statuisiffet, prædictus Willelmum le Waleys, fidelitatis et liganciæ suæ immemor, omnia quæ^v poterat felonia ac seditione præcogitata in ipsum dominum regem, adunato sibi et confœderato immenso numero felonum, surrexit, et custodes et ministros ipsius regis felonice invasit et impugnavit, et Willelmum de Hesebregg,^w vicecomitem de Lanarke, qui placita ipsius regis in pleno^x comitatu [], felonice et contra pacem ipsius domini regis insultavit, vulneravit et interfecit, et postea, in contemptum ipsius regis, ipsum vicecomitem sic interfectum, frustratim dimicavit. Et ex tunc omni qua poterat multitudine armatorum sibi et felonix suæ adhærentium adunata, villas, civitates, et castra terræ illius invasit, et brevia sua per totam Scotiam, tanquam brevia superioris illius terræ, emanare fecit et demandavit, parlamenta et congregationes suas, omnibus custodibus et ministris prædicti domini regis de terra Scotiæ per ipsum Willelmum dejectis, tenuit et assedit; nec tanta nequitia et seditione volens contineri, consuluit omnibus prælatis, comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ parti suæ adhærentibus, quod fidelitati et dominio regis Franciæ se subjugarent, et ad destructionem regni Angliæ in auxilium infisterent. Quosdam etiam de complicibus suis secum assumens, regnum Angliæ, ut in comitatibus Northumberland, Comberland, et Westmerland, ingredie-

^v Omni qua (?)

^w Such is the reading of the MS., but there is reason for believing that it is an error for "Hesebregg." See, however, the extract from Fordun.

^x The MS. reads "plano."

batur, et omnes quos ibidem de fidelitate regis Angliæ invenit, diversis mortis generibus felonice interfecit, viros religiosos et moniales Deo dicatos, et ecclesias ad honorem Dei et suorum sanctorum constructas, una cum corporibus sanctorum et aliis reliquiis eorum in eis honorifice collocatis, felonice et seditiose mactavit, combuffit et devastavit, nemini qui lingua Anglicana utebatur pepercit, sed omnes fenes cum juvenibus, sponfas cum viduis, infantes cum lactantibus, graviore morte quam excogitare sciverat afficiebat. Sicque singulis diebus et horis in machinationem mortis ipsius domini regis et in coronæ et regiæ majestatis suæ annullationem et enervationem manifestam, seditiose et felonice perseverabat. Et licet post tam enormia et horribilia facta prædictus dominus rex cum magno suo exercitu terram Scotiæ invasisset, et prædictum Willelmum vexillum contra eum in bello mortali deferentem et alios inimicos suos devicisset, firmamque pacem suam omnibus de terra illa concessisset, et prædictum Willelmum le Waleis ad pacem suam misericorditer revocari fecisset, idem Willelmus in sua prænotata nequitia seditiose et felonice concorditer et animose perseverans, paci prædicti domini regis se submittere et ad eam evenire contempfit, et sic in curia ipsius domini regis ut seductor, prædo et felo, secundum leges et consuetudines Angliæ et Scotiæ, publice fuit utlagatus. Et injustum et legibus Anglicanis difsonum existat et creditur aliquem sic utlagatum et extra leges positum, nec postea ad pacem ipsius restitutum, et defensionem status sui seu responfionem admitti, — Consideratum est quod prædictus Willelmus pro manifesta seditione quam ipsi domino regi fecerat felonice machinando, in mortem ejus perpetrando, annullationem et enervationem coronæ et regiæ dignitatis suæ vexillum contra dominum suum ligium in bello mortali deferendo, detrahatur a palatio Westmonasterii usque Turrim Londoñ, et a Turri usque Allegate, et sic per medium civitatis usque Elmes, et pro roberiiis et homicidiis et feloniis, quas in regno Angliæ et terra Scotiæ fecit, ibidem suspendatur et postea devaletur. Et quia utlagatus fuit, nec postea ad pacem domini regis restitutus, decolletur et decapitetur. Et postea pro immensa vilitate, quam Deo et sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ fecit comburendo

’ Ad (?)

ecclesias, vasa et feretra, in quibus corpus Christi et corpora sanctorum et reliquiae eorundem collocabantur, cor, epar, et pulmo et omnia interiora ipsius Willelmi, a quibus tam perversae cogitationes procefferunt, in ignem mittantur et comburentur. Et etiam, quia non solum ipsi domino regi, sed toti plebi Angliae et Scotiae, praedicta seditionem, depraedationes, incendia, et homicidia et felonias fecerat, corpus illius Willelmi in quatuor quarteria scindatur et dividatur, et caput sic abscissum affedatur super pontem Londoni, in conspectu tam per terram quam per aquam transeuntium, et unum quarterium suspendatur in gibetto apud Novum Castrum super Tynam, aliud quarterium apud Berewyk, tertium quarterium apud Stryvelyn, et quartum quarterium apud Villam Sancti Johannis, in metum et castigationem omnium praetereuntium et ea conspicientium, &c.

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